

The Nation

VOL. XLIX.—NO. 1267.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1889.

The Week.

THE two days' meeting of the Civil-Service-Reform League last week in Philadelphia was from every point of view a striking evidence of the growing interest in the subject. The strangest peculiarity of the occasion was the extraordinary amount of ammunition in possession of the League taken from the spoilsman. Mr. Curtis's arraignment of the Administration, which was in parts almost blasting in its severity, owed a large part of this severity to the quotations he was able to make from Gen. Garrison's pledges and the pledges of the party platform. And we must be allowed to add that the picture he was able to draw of the tergiversations, both of the President and of the party, was considerably darkened by the recollection present to every mind of the professions of piety made both by the President himself and his Postmaster-General, Mr. John Wanamaker. The nails which Mr. Curtis inserted into the consciences of these two worthies were, without any formal mention of them, driven home and clinched on the other side by an admirable paper read by Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte of Baltimore on "Civil-Service Reform as a Moral Question." Nothing more trenchant—indeed, we may say, nothing so trenchant—on this aspect of the question has, we think, been written by any one. We are glad to say it will be printed by the League for distribution, and a copy of it ought to be placed in the hands of every clergyman in the Union.

It says, with a force and vigor which is seldom found in sermons, what every minister in the country ought to have been saying occasionally for the last twenty years. That the use of a public office for any purpose but the efficient service of the taxpayer is a breach of trust; that the payment of your own private debts with it is theft or embezzlement; that lying about the way you will use the public service, or about the way you have used it, is the ordinary lying denounced in Scripture and by all moralists of all ages as one of the worst of vices; that the duty of the citizen towards fraud and falsehood in the conduct of the Government is precisely the same as the duty of the citizen towards fraud and falsehood in the conduct of private business—such were the theses which Mr. Bonaparte maintained and elucidated with remarkable vigor. Mr. Swift of Indiana, too, gave point to the whole by his emphatic and pregnant remark, that "the spoils system could not survive the publication of the facts"—that is, that it contains so many of the villanies which disgrace human nature, so much of the fraud, the falsehood, the cruelty and injustice, that if the facts could be properly laid before the American people, they would kill it as they

killed slavery, and as they are trying to kill forgery, embezzlement, and violence.

Mr. Blaine's speech to the Pan American Conference was a sonorous evasion of the chief ostensible object for which the Conference was drawn together, viz.: "to encourage such reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all, and secure more extensive markets for the products of each of said countries." Not one word is to be found in Mr. Blaine's speech on this subject, although he had much to say about the beauties of peace and good-will among men, and that sort of thing. Such talk always sounds well, whether in Sunday-school or on the rostrum of a graduating class. There is nothing to be said against it; but it would have had more point and force if we were in the habit of quarrelling with our neighbors of South and Central America. It is true that they do quarrel among themselves sometimes, and that in one instance we came near "mixing ourselves in." That time was when Mr. Blaine was Secretary of State. So far as we may take his speech as a promise not to do so any more, it is appropriate, and should be thankfully received. In other respects it comes far short of public expectation. There was, indeed, an allusion to steamship subsidies, but none to the "reciprocal commercial relations" which are indicated in the first section of the Conference Act as one of the special objects of the Conference. On the contrary, he said that we would "not seek to form any selfish alliances against the older nations, from which we are proud to claim inheritance," thus quieting the fears lately expressed abroad lest this Conference might adopt tariffs to our advantage and to their detriment. The inference to be drawn from this passage in the speech is, that no commercial advantages are sought or expected, since the phrase "selfish alliances" has no other than a commercial signification.

ties of arbitration as a means of settling disputes—all very proper, but very useless in a case where disputes are rare and where consequently armies and navies are not wanted—but we shall not have the embarrassing topic of reciprocal commercial relations to deal with, although this was the ostensible object of the Conference. The South American delegates will be as much relieved as our own to have this troublesome question shelved, because they would be very reluctant to impose differential duties against European goods.

Gov. Hill has lost no time in assuming full responsibility for the ticket which he had his party nominate at Syracuse. He made a speech at Kingston on Thursday in which he defended the candidates for Comptroller and Attorney-General from the attacks which have been made upon them in connection with the ceiling scandal, declared officially that the platform which he himself wrote for the Convention to adopt "is impregnable," and pronounced the chief acts of himself as Governor to be fully deserving of all the praise that he himself gave them in his platform. The speech was defensive in character throughout, and in this respect it is a true keynote for the Democratic campaign. In losing no time in defending his candidates for Comptroller and Attorney-General for their conduct in the ceiling matter, the Governor is doing no more than his duty in the premises. They were simply carrying out his orders and protecting his interests in the course they followed. He is the man who is primarily responsible for all the Democratic share in the scandal, and it is only just that he should assume the burden of its defense.

We have been requested by several of our readers for "pointers" upon the relative merits of the two New York State tickets to be voted for in November. It is a somewhat difficult task to say which of the two tickets it is most desirable to support. In point of personnel, the Republican ticket is unquestionably superior to the Democratic, taking both as wholes. When the candidates are considered individually, we are not able to see that the Democratic nominees for Secretary of State and for State Engineer are inferior to the Republican nominees for the same offices; but it seems to be uncontested that the Democratic nominees for Comptroller, Attorney-General, State Treasurer, and Judge of the Court of Appeals are inferior in many respects to the Republican nominees for those offices. If a voter wishes to support either ticket entire, we should say without hesitation that he will vote for the largest number of fit candidates by depositing a Republican ballot. There are no smirched candidates upon that ballot, and if the Convention which had nominated it had not been a subservient Platt body, and if support of it did not imply approval of

the course of the Harrison Administration in breaking its most solemn pledges in regard to the distribution of spoils and the appointments to office, and of its pension and tariff profligacy, it would be easy to advise everybody who wished to put good men in office to vote for it.

Nothing more remarkable has been accomplished by President Harrison than his transformation of the despised "Tom" Platt of a few years ago into the respected and powerful Thomas C. Platt of the present day. It is only about eight years since Platt left the United States Senate, after having won by his servile course there the universal title of Conkling's "Me Too." His reputation was poor enough then, but it fell to far lower depths after the revelations were made at Albany which forced him to withdraw his name from the Legislature as a candidate for reelection. During the years which followed that ignominious retirement from public office and public sight, he did nothing which commanded attention except to organize his rag-disinfecting ring in the Quarantine service. He was still an insignificant and despised politician, so far as the public knew much of his operations, when President Harrison surprised the country by leaving Warner Miller prostrate "outside the breastworks," and turning over to Platt all the Federal patronage of the State of New York. In the twinkling of an eye, all the Republican organs stopped speaking of him as "Tom," and began to mention him as Mr. Platt, or more often as ex-Senator and the Hon. Thomas C. Platt. The *Tribune*, which for years could find no terms too contemptuous to apply to him, prefers now the form of ex-Senator, though that recalls more than any other the title of "Me Too." Since his demonstration of "power" at the recent Republican Convention, Platt has risen to great heights in Republican estimation. We find many such tributes as the following in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, which, alluding to a remark that Platt is the greatest party organizer and manager that New York has seen since Martin Van Buren, says: "Considering that Thurlow Weed, Roscoe Conkling, Samuel J. Tilden, and Daniel Manning have appeared upon the scene in the interval, this is high praise in its way; but there are thousands of persons in this country, Democrats as well as Republicans, who think the estimate not at all extravagant."

The elections in the new States in the Northwest appear to have resulted as had been expected, the Republicans carrying all of the four except Montana, where the Democrats elected Governor and Legislature, and the Republicans the Congressman. The Republicans will thus increase their strength in the Senate by six votes against an increase of two for the Democrats—a net Republican gain of four. South Dakota will have two Representatives in the House, and each of the other States one, all of the five being Republicans. This will increase the membership of the lower branch of Congress from 325 to 330,

and require 166 to make a quorum. The Republicans had 164 Representatives before last Tuesday's elections, and are now assured of 169. At the very best, however, they can have at the start only three above a quorum. They hope to increase the size of their majority by turning out Southern Democrats whose claims to their seats are disputed; but any display of outrageous partisanship will be rendered extremely difficult by the fact that the Democrats can at any time refuse to vote, after the example set by the Republicans in the past, and leave the Republicans helpless for lack of a quorum, unless they have their whole strength in the hall, which it is always difficult, and often impossible, to secure. The choice of Republican Senators from North Dakota, South Dakota, and Washington assures that party 45 of the 84 members of the upper branch.

Monday's election in Connecticut was rendered noteworthy by the first trial of the new secret-ballot law which was passed by the last Legislature. This has sometimes been referred to in the press as the Australian system, but only through gross ignorance of its features. It really has only a few of the cardinal features of that system, including the provision of booths where the voters prepare their ballots free from inspection, and the prohibition against the presence of outsiders in the vicinity of the polls. These are great gains over the old system of allowing the briber or bulldozer to follow his victim to the box and see that he deposits the ballot which he has been paid or forced to cast, and the advantages of the change are promptly and generally recognized. The ultimate effect must inevitably be to arouse public sentiment in favor of carrying the reform still further, and securing the further advantages which can be gained only through the provision of ballots by the State. The defeat of Prohibition at this election was the most overwhelming yet encountered in any State, the vote being nearly three to one against the proposed amendment.

The new ballot law for Tennessee, passed by the last Legislature of that State, has been declared unconstitutional by the Chancery Court of Knoxville because it fails to provide for voting by illiterates, and thereby really prescribes an educational qualification. The case will be appealed to the Supreme Court, but the decision is likely to be sustained. The advocates of the measure are much disappointed by this reverse, as they hoped to have their next elections held under the new system, but they have only themselves to blame. They were warned by the promoters of ballot-reform in the North who saw their law when it was before the Legislature, that precisely this fate would befall it if they did not make provision for illiterates, but they refused to profit by the advice. The Kentucky law for Louisville has met a similar fate for the same reason, though the other provisions of it have been held to be constitutional by the Court. Both laws are in other respects excellent adaptations of the Australian sys-

tem, and the adverse decisions in no way affect the important principles of that method of voting.

The Massachusetts Democrats may not achieve success in the pending campaign, but they have at least deserved it. William E. Russell, their candidate for Governor, is a young and progressive man, who has made an excellent reputation as an executive by his service in the Mayoralty of Cambridge, and is admirably qualified for the higher office. The platform is uncommonly clear and forcible upon all the live issues of the day. It declares for free raw materials, lower duties upon the necessities of life, and closer commercial relations with Canada and Mexico; opposes the scheme of a national election law, as "an unjustifiable extension of the functions of the General Government, opposed to the spirit of the Constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the several States"; expresses sound views regarding the civil service; and contains a pension plank so free from the regulation trap, and so full of the proper spirit toward the question, that it may well serve as a model.

The proceedings going on before the "referee" in the Giblin case are of the most extraordinary character. Giblin shot a man in his own store, on whom he had tried to pass a counterfeit bill. He was tried with all the tedious elaboration of our procedure in such cases, convicted, and sentenced to death. He went to the Court of Appeals with the usual number of exceptions, but failed, was resentenced, and the day appointed for his execution. He got a reprieve from the Governor on the ground that he could produce fresh testimony, and an inquiry was ordered before a young and inexperienced lawyer, who is figuring as the "referee." Far from confining himself to an examination of the fresh evidence, however, the referee is actually trying the whole case over again in the usual way, examining all the witnesses, and hearing counsel on both sides. One of the results is, that the chief witnesses for the prosecution are now contradicting their former testimony, either because they have been "got at" or because they feel sorry for Giblin. A more absurd caricature on criminal justice was never seen, and it comes comically close on our severe criticism of English procedure in the Maybrick case. We all, or most of us, felt sorry for the English in that case because they had no "Court of Criminal Appeal." We have one, but we find it will not do, and have set up besides a burlesque of the Home Secretary in the person of a youthful "referee," who is apparently competent to set aside the verdict of the jury, not only on the law, but on the facts.

The burning question at the annual conference of the friends of the Indian at Lake Mohonk last week was the attitude of the Government towards what are known as "contract schools" on the reservations in the West. There are seventy-one such schools under the control of various Protestant de-

nominations and of the Roman Catholics, where buildings, outfit, and teachers are provided by these religious bodies, while the Government contracts to pay annually a certain amount per capita for the board and clothing of pupils and towards the salaries of teachers. Besides these seventy-one "contract schools," there are 159 Government boarding-schools, all of both classes giving some industrial training. Of late years, chiefly, as it would seem, through the greater earnestness of the body at large, aided somewhat by the superior energy of their agent in Washington, the Catholics have been securing control of a larger and larger proportion of the "contract schools," until last year they received about three-fourths of the public money thus apportioned. Some timid Protestants have become alarmed at this activity, and they seem to have infected Commissioner Morgan of the Indian Bureau with their apprehension, for he has announced it to be his policy to allow the starting of no more "contract schools," and to withdraw gradually from those now existing the aid which they receive from the Government. This policy is strongly opposed by such leading Protestants and friends of the Indian as Gen. S. C. Armstrong of the Hampton (Va.) Institute—the son, by the way, of one of the first missionaries to the Sandwich Islands; Gen. Francis A. Walker, formerly Commissioner of Indian Affairs; the Rev. Dr. Strieby, President of the American Missionary Association; and Mr. Herbert Welsh of Philadelphia. They take the ground that every offer of assistance in Indian education should be welcomed; that it is infinitely better to have schools with Roman Catholic teachers than no schools at all; and that the thing for Protestants to do is not to refuse to have "contract schools" for fear the Roman Catholics will get more than their share of them, but to beat the Roman Catholics in this competition of benevolence. This certainly seems the common sense view to take of the question, and it will be adopted by the general public, as it was by the great majority of the participants in the Lake Mohonk Conference.

Pythagoras Hall, that famous home of Labor in which District Assembly 49 formerly held its meetings, and more recently its fights, was sold under mortgage foreclosure some months ago. After the mortgage was paid, there remained about \$17,000, which was placed in the hands of a receiver. Since that time, claims have been handed in pretty regularly until they amount at present to about \$13,000, chiefly for lawyers' and referees' fees, in the litigation which grew out of the quarrels of the Quinn and anti-Quinn factions for control of the Assembly's finances. It is the intention of the receiver to pay all these claims soon and divide up the remaining \$4,000 among the members of the successful faction. When this shall have been done, District Assembly 49, the most active strike agency Labor has had here in recent years, will disappear for ever, and with it the Quinns and other Walking Delegates who got such a good living out of the contribu-

tions which real but misguided workingmen were induced to put into it.

Columbia College has at last provided itself with a new President in the person of one of its own graduates, Mr. Seth Low of Brooklyn. His reputation is rather that of an administrator than of a scholar; but as regards this, the choice has probably been governed by considerations which have great and just weight in nearly all our growing universities. Their wealth is increasing rapidly, and so is the machinery of instruction, in the shape of libraries, and laboratories, and museums. The working force of professors and tutors, too, is becoming so large that the head needs a great deal of capacity in the way of tact and judgment which is not to be got from books, and which Mr. Low undoubtedly possesses. He has, too, the merit of being still young for a college president, and has given marked proofs already of his ability to grow up to any responsibilities which may be placed on him and which he may be willing to assume. The danger which besets a successful administrator when placed at the head of a university in our time and in this country, is the danger of getting out of touch with learning, and losing sympathy with those who cultivate it for its own sake; but Mr. Low has been and is enough of a scholar himself to avoid it. And we cannot help hoping that he will be able to do something to make Columbia College still more of a social influence in the city than it has ever been; more of a hindrance to that absorption in the pursuit and worship of wealth for which New York is so remarkable.

We do not like to speak of Mr. Low's politics in connection with his appointment, and yet he has made himself so conspicuous in politics by his independence that it is difficult to avoid it. Nothing that he has said or written contained so much promise of intellectual vigor and power of expression as his address at the Cooper Institute in the last canvass, in which he bid farewell to his old party. And it is worthy of note, by those who care for the signs of the times, that now that he has taken the Presidency of Columbia College, every leading university in the country, we believe without exception, is in the hands of men who believe in tariff reform and civil-service reform, or, in other words, who are opposed to government by corruption, no matter by what fine name it disguises itself. This means that the mind and culture of the country are rapidly drifting away from the Republican party as they drifted away from the Democratic party thirty years ago. The party leaders console themselves with the fact that they still retain the old men who can draw the large checks; but they will find, as their progenitors have found in every age, that the great to-morrow always belongs to youth and hope and free thought and free speech. The young men who are passing through the colleges of the country are like the small yearly battalions which the Prussians drilled after Jena, and which their French conqueror thought he could despise, but which finally made up a mighty host which chased him from his throne. The Boston *Journal* reminded President Eliot of Harvard the other day, when he said that he approved of the tariff principles of the Democratic party in Massachusetts, and should vote its ticket, that

"had a President of Harvard College given utterance to these sentiments forty years ago, the treasury of Harvard College would not have been the recipient of funds from the wealthy benefactors of the College who, under the protective system, were not only able to give employment to large numbers of workingmen to build up towns and cities in New England, but from their surplus to endow Harvard and other colleges."

This argument might, of course, be used to prevent a college president from denouncing gambling-houses, because certainly the keepers would gladly contribute to college funds to secure the silence or approval of the Faculty. We do not mean to compare manufacturers to gamblers, but assuredly it matters little from what source contributions to a college come, if their object is to bribe the professors to teach doctrines which put money in the donors' pockets.

The recent appointment of Count Thun-Hohenstein as Governor of Bohemia was hailed with great satisfaction by the Germans of the Empire, as he was supposed to be hostile to the Young Czech party, whose increasing strength in Bohemia had filled them with alarm. Their consternation and rage may be imagined when the new Governor took occasion to declare that he was in favor of reestablishing the ancient kingdom of Bohemia—as an integral part of the Empire, of course—and of the crowning of Francis Joseph at Prague. Partly at this declaration itself, and more at the common belief that the imperial Government favors the project, since it is argued that Count Thun-Hohenstein would never have dared to broach the matter without the private backing of Count Taaffe, the German press both in Vienna and Berlin has been greatly exercised. The Government newspapers are rather guarded in their references to the matter, though they admit that the scheme has been thought of as a means of satisfying the Young Czechs and inducing them to leave off agitation. They add, however, that the subject is one requiring mature consideration. Meanwhile the Young Czechs have received the announcement of their new Governor with the greatest joy, but already make it clear that the concession would only whet their appetites, and that they would soon press for bringing back Moravia and Silesia into their old places in the Bohemian kingdom. The Germans point out this intention, and say that if Bohemia is made a kingdom, Croatia will soon be urging her claims to a similar distinction; that Hungary will go on to make her relation to the Empire merely that of owning a common ruler, and that, in fact, no limit to the dismemberment of the Empire can be foreseen. What it all witnesses to is the great predominance of the Young Czechs and their ideas in Bohemia. So desperate have the German representatives grown that they have resorted to the extreme measure of abstaining from all part in the Government.

MR. BLAINE'S OPPORTUNITY.

MR. BLAINE has now an opening for useful service, and to acquire honorable fame for his party and himself, such as has rarely been so distinctly presented to one in the Department of State. So far as his speech at the opening of the Pan-American Conference may be taken as a foretaste of his intentions, he will not improve the opportunity, but will throw it aside. It is not the opportunity presented to Franklin which he had the sagacity and courage so to use as to bring a new nation into being, but it is much the same in importance as that which came to Marcy in 1854, and another which came to Fish in 1870, wherein both of those eminent New Yorkers, Blaine's predecessors in the Department of State, proved themselves adequate for the requirements of the great occasion with which each found himself face to face. What Marcy did and what Fish did for the promotion and enlargement of commercial intercourse between ourselves and British North America, an unappreciative Congress subsequently threw away, so that the problem before Pierce and Marcy for solution in 1854 is, thirty-five years afterwards, in front of Harrison and Blaine. The work which Grant and Fish did in 1870-'71 must be done again in 1889, so far as the Northeastern fisheries are concerned. Everything now favors Mr. Blaine and stimulates his ambition. He needs to obliterate the Chilian-Landreau scandal. His immediate predecessor attempted the Canadian negotiation and failed, but out of that failure has come, even from the New England which so worried and thwarted Bayard, a present demand for closer commercial relations with Canada, which opens wider the field for Blaine. A national wish for the establishment of more intimate and better intercourse with the two Americas at the south of us culminated in a law of the last Congress which was intended, no doubt, by Democrats in the House for the benefit of themselves and Cleveland, but which, by the then unexpected Democratic defeat last November, has placed the character of our future relations with South America, Central America, and Mexico in the hands of Mr. Blaine and of the Republican party, which holds both houses of Congress and the treaty-making power, as Cleveland and the Democracy did not.

The State Department is putting about translations from Vienna newspapers to create the impression that the American conference is an executive contrivance by Blaine. Mr. Trescot should stop such silliness. The conference is the work of the Democratic Foreign Affairs Committee of the last House, promoted in the Senate by Senator Sherman. Marcy had, in 1854, both houses of Congress in party sympathy with him (which even the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was not permitted to rupture), and so had Fish in 1870.

The law of the last Congress requiring the President to make an approach, a drawing nearer, to the Spanish-speaking peoples to the south of us has a comprehensiveness not yet fully appreciated. It declares for a customs-union—a most gene-

ric and sweeping demand for free trade with South and Central America. No Congress of nations has been called in our day to consider objects and purposes of more transcendent importance than are the eight specifications set forth by the law which Harrison has to execute concerning some twenty independent States. In a word, Mr. Blaine has now delivered into his hands, and those of the Republican party, by the fortunate possession of power in both houses of Congress, the occasion, the opening, the opportune moment to do for free trade over all this hemisphere that which our Federal Constitution did for the forty-odd States and Territories which it now embraces. What Bolivar, Clay, and Adams attempted, but failed to realize, because they struck on the rock of African slavery—the establishment of close, cordial, and reciprocal commercial relations between Spanish America and the United States of North America—Blaine and his party may now accomplish. The Congress of Panama was not planned by Bolivar, and accepted by Monroe, Clay, and Adams, merely to secure the union of Spanish America against Spain, but also to secure union with the great republic at the north. Our relations with Spanish America—thanks to the destruction of slave-labor and the suspicion of our motives which slave-labor always excited in our neighbors—were never better than in 1870, under Grant, despite his San Domingo escapade. Between then and 1885 those good relations were weakened, and notably by the Landreau business. A special message by Grant to Congress in 1870 concerning the Spanish-American republics transmits an elaborate report thereon by Mr. Fish, which has recently been published in the 'International Law Digest' (vol. i., p. 289). It deserves, and will repay, even at the end of nearly twenty years, a most attentive reading.

No President and no head of the Department of State have ever had such an opportunity to unite the whole of our hemisphere in the beneficent bonds of free trade as is now spread before Harrison and Blaine. Could Marcy, one of the greatest men who have conducted the foreign affairs of the country, have had it, what, with slave-labor out of the way, might he not have accomplished? Blaine has a law of Congress at his back, covering the Spanish-American republics and the empire of Brazil, and New England opinion is loudly clamoring for reciprocity with Canada. At the North and in the West are no party-opposing State governments to vex, hamper, and thwart him. Almost every Northern Governor is a Republican; or, wherever the Democrats have a Governor, as in New York, the Legislature is Republican. Can Mr. Blaine rise to the occasion? Can his party colleagues in the Administration of Harrison, and his party associates in the Senate and Congress, lead the movement for free trade over all our hemisphere? The country will, within a short time, see the test applied. Now is the hour for Blaine to show, if he possesses it, real "magnetism" in real diplomacy. If Harrison, Blaine, and the Republican party in Congress can give the country a customs-

union and reciprocal free trade with British North America, Mexico, Central America, South America, as well as the British and Spanish West Indies, their hold on the Government at Washington may be prolonged indefinitely, if that hold be not paralyzed by bondage to the spoils system and to the *Tannerism* of the Grand Army of the Republic.

OUR SHIPPING LAWS AND THE AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

It is to be regretted that no Democratic State Convention, dealing in its platform of resolutions with Federal topics, makes nowadays any mention of a Democratic purpose, or even a Democratic desire, to repeal that ancient legislation of 1792 which forbids a foreign-built but American-owned vessel to be registered, enrolled, or licensed as an American vessel.

That is noteworthy at this moment because, if conversations were actually had which are reported in the daily press, or have been correctly given, our present guests from countries south of the isthmus have come hither to the Conference, either persuaded or told by somebody—who is it?—that the Government at Washington will be willing to levy taxes, or otherwise legislate, to diminish rates of freight by vessels from our own ports to the east and west ports of South America. Communication by steam between those ports (especially those on the west coast) and ours is not all that is wished, yet exports thence to us very largely exceed our exports to South America. The balance of trade between ourselves and all the countries south of us is against us by over \$100,000,000 a year. During the last decade of our protective taxes our exports to those countries have diminished in value. Since 1883 they have fallen off over 12 per cent., while imports from thence have increased. There are vessels enough for imports to us in excess of exports from us. Why is that? It is the result of our clumsy and stupid tax laws.

If the delegates now flying over our land in swift railway trains will carefully observe the means and the cost of transportation in our cities—such as New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans—they will probably find them quite as bad and inadequate as is communication from our ports to South American ports. The streets of our great cities are a disgrace to American civilization, and to any real civilization. The hackney carriages and horses are slow, rickety, and expensive. Were the accomplished delegate from Bolivia to take a cab at his banker's in Wall Street and drive to the Union League Club, he would be required to pay \$1.50 or \$2, or even more, for a wretchedly bad service. The city tariff rate (six, eight, or twelve English shillings) is enough to pay for a hansom over a large part of London or a fiacre over much of Paris. Were it not for a constitutional impediment, there would be more present justification for taxes by Congress to improve the pavements, the streets, and the transportation in our large cities than to provide transportation by sea to and from South American ports.

But if we would, in return for something South America will give to us, increase the number of vessels between those ports and our own, the best and surest way is to remove the exclusion which now prevents a foreign-built and American-owned vessel from getting an American register. The executive department of the Federal Government, perceiving how unjust and absurd such exclusion is, has done all it can to limit the exclusion. It has decided that our citizens can and may buy foreign vessels, own them, navigate them, and wear on them the American flag. It has declared that, on the ocean, our national flag imparts a verity, and that the nationality of the ship corresponds to that of the flag. It has said (as in the case of the *Virginian*) that a foreign government cannot by us be permitted to inquire into the validity of the papers of a vessel wearing our flag, so far as her conduct on the high seas is concerned. It has repeatedly announced that the Government will, up to a certain point, protect a vessel owned entirely by our citizens, even although built abroad, just as it will protect, up to a certain point, an alien (who has acquired an American domicile), so far as concerns foreign governments. No law forbids an American to buy, own, and use, in a certain way, a foreign-built vessel. He can put the flag on it as on his house. Jefferson and Hamilton in 1793, Buchanan in 1853, Marcy in 1856, Seward in 1868, Fish in 1875, Evarts in 1879, and Bayard in 1885 spoke the same voice. When Russian subjects attached a vessel in the North Pacific owned by an American, but built in a foreign shipyard, and even commanded by a German, the State Department demanded reparation by Russia. Our State Department issues sea letters to vessels which, under our absurd laws, cannot be registered, enrolled, or licensed.

And yet our mediaeval law of 1792 does declare that a foreign-built vessel cannot be technically a vessel of the United States, because only registered or enrolled vessels can be such, and those built abroad can neither be registered nor enrolled. The Federal courts, not following the Secretaries of State, deny that a vessel, neither registered nor enrolled, under the law of 1792, can be protected as American. A foreign-built vessel owned by American citizens, but not lawfully documented as American, is certainly liable to forfeiture by our law if she brings merchandise from abroad to one of our custom-houses. She cannot, as every one knows, engage in our coastwise trade. She is subjected to all sorts of disabilities, like one having a New York domicile and residence who happens to be an alien. The exclusion of 1792 should be repealed, and Democrats should agitate therefor. If we wish quickly to have steamers, entitled to American registry, which will promote commercial intercourse with South America, our merchants must be permitted to buy them in whatever market they can find what they wish and at suitable prices. Individuals have not the money to indulge, as our Navy Department does, in the luxury of building ocean steamers in American ship-yards. Probably nothing can be expected from Har-

rison, or Blaine, or the next Congress, in aid of repealing the law of 1792. They will insist that only American-built vessels shall have registry and enrolment. And yet Blaine and the State Department, as well as Harrison, use foreign-made goose-quills, and foreign-made writing paper, and foreign-made envelopes in conducting the public business and the foreign affairs of our Government. Probably Blaine's speech to the Conference the other day was written on British-made paper which paid no custom-house tax. Why may not our merchants have a register or an enrolment for a foreign-built vessel owned by them? Who will risk his reputation as a political economist, as an American and a man of sense, by detailing and vindicating the present reasons?

SOUTH AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE.

One of the preparations we ought to make for the Exposition in honor of the discovery of America is the production of something which we can offer to the world as the American view of the nature, advantages, and disadvantages of foreign trade. We must, in other words, get ready some answers to the questions: Is foreign trade a good thing or not? Is it desirable to cultivate it or not? If it is, how is it to be carried on, and on what conditions is it dependent for success? The need of this is impressed on us already by the arrival of the Spanish-American delegates. Nobody is as yet apparently prepared to say what we think about foreign trade, or how we would carry it on if we were to engage in it. All that has been said about it thus far on our side touches simply the question of correspondence through the mails. What we need most of all is, it is said, the means of sending mails directly to South America in American and not in English ships. Our merchants must be able to write freely to South American merchants, and, if necessary, our Government must hire ships to carry the letters.

So far so good. But what are the letters to contain? What is the New York trader to say to the trader of Brazil, or the Argentine Republic, or of Chili, or Peru? The correspondence, we take it, will be strictly of a business nature. The American merchant or manufacturer, when preparing his South American mail, will not send descriptions of scenery, or biographical sketches of leading citizens, or reflections on education, or stories of Mr. Depew's visits to England, or of Russell Harrison's reception by the Queen. He will give some good solid business reason for writing at all. He will not say that he must write a few lines because we have a regularly subsidized line of steamers, or because business is slack and he has nothing better to do, or because his daughter has been learning Spanish and wishes to try her hand at correspondence. He will almost certainly propose some business transaction. What kind of transaction will it be? Will it be a proposal to lend money, or borrow money, or invest money, or sell something or buy something, or all of these things together?

It will in all probability be a proposal to

sell something to the South Americans. The letters will say that, hearing that the South Americans make large purchases of cotton, or woollen goods, or machinery, we the North Americans should like to get their custom, and some reasons must be given showing that it will be for the advantage of the South Americans to give us their custom. It will not do to say that they must buy of us because we now have a subsidized steamer to carry our letters, or because we and the South Americans live on the same continent. That argument would hardly hold water, because we do not live up to it ourselves. Macy & Co. do not get the custom of the inhabitants of Fourteenth Street simply because the Post-office is efficient or their store is on Fourteenth Street, nor do Park & Tilford rely on propinquity for the sale of their groceries. We may possibly get a hint in the matter from observing the practice of our domestic traders. What they do to get custom is, to offer their goods at lower prices for the same quality than their rivals in business. Their drummers are not allowed to put sentimental considerations in the foreground. They do not ask us to buy of them in honor of auld lang syne, or because their firm is composed of good-looking men, or because their heart is in the right place. They try to sell the goods by representing them as cheap in all senses of the word—that is, because their price is lower than that of similar goods elsewhere. Is this method applicable to foreign trade?

Then there is the important question whether the South American States can afford to buy our goods at any price. They have, like the rest of the world, but little ready cash. They are enabled to deal with England because England takes payment in goods for what she sells them, and this is the custom of all the other nations of the world. They carry on international trade by exchanging commodities. Are we prepared to adopt this old-world system? Are we prepared, in other words, to allow foreign nations to sell in our markets as well as buy in them? This question will have to be settled almost at the outset. The South Americans will want to know whether we insist on hard cash for our exports, because, if so, they will ask incontinently, where are they to get the coin? They keep only enough now for the use of domestic trade and the settlement of their small yearly balances with foreigners. If we ask them to buy largely from us for "spot cash," or even on thirty or ninety-days bills, they will inevitably ask whether we really mean them to "send all the gold out of the country" and produce a terrible financial panic.

It will be readily seen from all this how much will remain to be settled after we have got our subsidized mail communication. The difficulty of sending the letters promptly will be nothing compared with the difficulty of putting the right things into the letters. If our letters do not contain attractive business proposals, of course the mail matter will rapidly decline in bulk, because the South Americans will cease to answer, and there will, in fact, soon be nothing to write about. Our politics influence them but

slenderly or we might send them accounts of our conventions and the progress of harmony in our parties, and the working of our system of "rotation in office"; but this last is one of the features of our system which does not seem to take abroad. In fact, it is often given as one of the reasons why Canada is reluctant to come into the Union, and the South Americans are said to feel in exactly the same way about it. For business men in any country it has no attractions at all. Even Platt does not introduce it into his express company here. On the whole, we doubt if Mr. Blaine could do a more useful thing than to make a draft of a letter to South America as a model for the use of our merchants.

A "SPOT-CASH" PARTY.

POLITICAL parties have been organized in civilized countries during the last five hundred years for a great variety of objects—to effect a change in the religion of the State, in the form of the government, or in the descent of the crown; to bring about a war or secure peace; to extend or restrict the suffrage, to abolish or impose certain taxes or modes of taxation, to procure changes in the currency or the financial system, to drive obnoxious ministers from power, to abolish slavery, and so on. But history down to our day may be searched in vain for a political party which was formed for the express purpose of getting from the Government a definite sum in cash for each member of it. Such a party, however, we have now "in our midst," and, comically enough, it calls itself the "Grand Army of the Republic."

That it is a genuine political party there is no question. It has a definite policy, namely, the procuring of a certain sum for each member in cash from the Treasury. This policy it promotes by the usual party machinery. It holds meetings at which it hears addresses from leading exponents of the "spot-cash" idea. It has organs in the press which defend its claims on the grounds both of expediency and justice. It uses the usual threat of defeat at the polls in case its demands are not complied with. It proclaims boldly, just as the anti-slavery party did and the tariff party is now doing, its intention to subordinate all other questions of public policy to the question it has adopted as its own special question. It tells the President that it does not care what his action may be touching the tariff, or the currency, or the civil service, or our foreign relations; that it will wage war on him with all the political weapons within his reach if he does not see that each member receives from the United States Treasury a certain sum in "spot cash," and more in monthly instalments. This is, we repeat, an absolutely unprecedented phenomenon in politics. Parties have before now made pecuniary gain their object, as the tariff party now does; but it was always to come to them in indirect ways, and in indefinite amounts, through some real or expected increase in the general prosperity of the community or of some large class of the community. Never before has each voter of a party said openly

that what he was voting for was so many dollars and so many cents for his private use and behoof, and that he would overthrow, if he could, any government which refused to pay it.

As we have remarked already, one of the oddest and newest things about this party is its name—"Grand Army" of the Republic. Hitherto one of the greatest boasts of republican armies has been that they did not fight for hire, but for love of country, or for fame, or for the "radiant and adored deceit" called honor. If any one had gone to a trooper in Cromwell's "New Model Army," and told him that he knew what he was fighting for, viz., a round sum in cash, or for the chance of pillage, he would undoubtedly have been seized, and, after having been prayed for, and having listened to an appropriate psalm, would have been soundly cudgelled. A fate somewhat similar, barring the religious exercises, would probably have overtaken the person offering a similar insult to any of the veterans of the "Grand Army" which Napoleon led into Russia. There has never been a time when the term "mercenary," or hireling, was not considered an insult to a soldier, or one in which a soldier who, when the war was over, tried to extort money for his services from his own government, was not put in the category of condottieri or Praetorians. The Praetorian Guard at Rome was, in fact, the last organized military body which acted on the principle which our Grand Army is now laying down—that the Government belongs to those who have served it on the battlefield. It was on this very theory that they used to put the Empire up to auction, and more than once sold it to the highest bidder; but then they did not do this in a free State—they did it under a despotism, after the public liberties had been destroyed.

This theory, too, makes a military strike on the battlefield, of which *Puck* furnished us such an amusing sketch the other day, a perfectly serious and rational thing. If men bear arms and serve in the wars solely for what they think they can make out of it in cash in case they survive, it is but reasonable that they should have the rights and privileges of all other kinds of hired labor. One of these rights is the right of striking at the time most inconvenient to the employer, and therefore most likely to bring him to terms. Compositors strike just as the newspaper is going to press; bricklayers just as the builder has concluded a contract under heavy time penalties; railroad servants when traffic is heaviest; telegraph operators when most people are away from home. Why not soldiers in the presence of the enemy, if it is likely to extort an increase of pay or a promise of large pensions? The sole question, of course, for cash soldiers is, what are their services worth to their country? The answer undoubtedly is, whatever the country is willing to pay to escape foreign conquest or dismemberment. Soldiering conducted on this basis, too, would be the most lucrative business in the world, because there is hardly any sum which a government will not pay sooner than open its territory to an enemy. On this basis, if the French Army had been victori-

ous in 1870, it would have been entitled to the amount in cash which the Germans, when they were victorious, exacted as an indemnity; and by parity of reasoning it would seem as if the German Government ought to have divided among its own troops the sum it actually made the French pay. The acceptance of the system, too, would undoubtedly lead to the adoption in all armies of a regular military tariff, somewhat of this kind:

For outpost duty with the privilege of sleeping on picket, per hour	c.
For do, with wakefulness, per hour	c.
For skirmishing in wooded country, per hour	c.
For skirmishing in the open, per hour	c.
For charging an enemy's works, each charge	c.
For remaining steady under musketry fire, per hour	c.
For do, under artillery fire, per hour	c.
For retreating in good order, per mile	c.
For ditto in disorder, per mile	c.
For obeying orders without discussion, each order	c.
For obeying orders after discussion, each order	c.
For general soldierlike conduct in the presence of the enemy, per day	c.
For service, exclusive of actions and skirmishes and outpost duty, and with the privilege of plunder, per day	c.

THE NEW ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

THE recent elections in the four new States of the Northwest indicate that ten of their thirteen electoral votes are likely to be cast for the Republican Presidential candidates in 1892, and that the other three, those of Montana, may be cast for either party, with slight odds in favor of their going to the Democrats. The change in the complexion of the Electoral College is obviously, therefore, a gain for the Republicans, and some of their newspapers and politicians are already counting upon it as being of sufficient importance to enable them to carry the country at the next national election without the vote of New York State. In order to get a basis for examining the merits of this claim, let us start with the electoral vote as it was cast in the last election:

HARRISON'S VOTE.

California	8	Nevada	3
Colorado	3	New Hampshire	4
Illinois	22	New York	36
Indiana	15	Ohio	23
Iowa	13	Oregon	3
Kansas	9	Pennsylvania	30
Maine	6	Rhode Island	4
Massachusetts	14	Vermont	4
Michigan	13	Wisconsin	11
Minnesota	7		
Nebraska	5		

CLEVELAND'S VOTE.

Alabama	10	Missouri	16
Arkansas	7	New Jersey	9
Connecticut	6	North Carolina	11
Delaware	3	South Carolina	9
Florida	4	Tennessee	12
Georgia	12	Texas	13
Kentucky	13	Virginia	12
Louisiana	8	West Virginia	6
Maryland	8		
Mississippi	9		

The Electoral College at that time numbered 401 votes, and 201 were necessary for an election. The College in 1892, unless there shall be a new apportionment in the meantime, which is improbable, will number 414, and 208 will be necessary for an election. There are certain States in both the Harrison and Cleveland lists given above which are by unanimous consent set down as doubtful in all elections. These are Connecticut, Indiana, and New York, and to them will have to be added, in considering the present outlook, California, Montana, Rhode Island, and West Virginia, making the total as follows:

DOUBTFUL STATES.	
California.....	8
Connecticut.....	6
Indiana.....	15
Montana.....	3
New York.....	36
	78

Of these doubtful States, California, Indiana, New York, and Rhode Island gave their votes, 63 in all, to Harrison; and two, Connecticut and West Virginia, gave their votes, 12 in all, to Cleveland. Taking these 63 doubtful votes from the Republican column reduces its total to 170, or 38 short of a majority. Taking the 12 doubtful votes from the Democratic column reduces its total to 156, or 52 short of a majority. Here is a great apparent advantage in favor of the Republicans, viewing each of these reduced totals as representing the electoral votes which each party can count upon as certain for its candidates in the next election. This advantage is increased by the addition of the new States, for the certain column of the Republicans will be increased by the ten votes of Washington and North and South Dakota, raising it to 180, or only 28 short of a majority, while the Democratic column remains unchanged at 52 short of a majority. Put in tabular form, this calculation, which is the one to give great encouragement to the Republicans, stands as follows:

Surely Republican votes.....	180
Surely Democratic votes.....	156
Doubtful.....	78
Votes necessary for Republican success.....	28
Votes necessary for Democratic success.....	52

It will be seen that the Republicans could lose all the doubtful States except New York and win, with eight votes to spare; or they could lose New York and Rhode Island and win with the votes of California, Indiana, and West Virginia, and have one vote to spare; or, again, they could lose New York, Rhode Island, and West Virginia, and win with California and Connecticut and Indiana, and have one vote to spare. Here are the three combinations:

Surely Republican votes.....	180	Surely Republican votes.....	180
New York.....	36	California.....	8
	—	Connecticut.....	6
Total.....	216	Indiana.....	15
	—		—
Surely Republican votes.....	180	Total.....	209
California.....	8		
Indiana.....	15		
West Virginia.....	0		
Total.....	209		

The key of all these combinations is Indiana. The Republicans cannot win, and lose both Indiana and New York. That is the most formidable fact in all their calculations, for it is undeniable that while Indiana is always classed as a doubtful State, it is nevertheless naturally a Democratic State; and the same thing is true of New York. Furthermore, in 1892 the election in Indiana will be held under the new Secret-Ballot Law, a most comprehensive and thorough application of the Australian system, and the "blocks of five" and other devices for carrying it which were used in 1888, will be of no service to the Republicans or to anybody else. The State will have an honest and unbought ballot for almost the first time in its history, and the result of it will inevitably be less favorable to the Republicans than it was in the last campaign. In this view of the case—namely, that the Republican hopes of success without New York depend absolutely upon gaining Indiana—their prospects

are not so bright as the first glance at the figures above given would lead one to suppose.

Turning to the Democratic side, it is to be noted, first, that while the total of votes regarded as certain is much smaller than the Republican, the States which represent the great bulk of the votes in the doubtful column, New York and Indiana, are more likely to be carried by the Democrats than by the Republicans. There is no denial in any unprejudiced quarter that the State of New York would have been carried by the Democrats in 1888 if Gov. Hill had not been a candidate and there had been a straight issue between the two national parties, without "deals" or treachery of any kind. With the fifty-one votes of New York and Indiana combined, the Democrats would be only one vote short of their desired majority. They have a good chance to gain this either in Rhode Island, which will vote with a greatly enlarged suffrage in 1892, or in West Virginia or Connecticut, which were Democratic last year, or in Montana, which they carried in the recent election. Here are possible combinations in favor of Democratic success, both with and without Indiana:

Surely Democratic votes.....	156	Surely Democratic votes.....	156
New York.....	36	New York.....	36
Indiana.....	15	Indiana.....	15
Conn. or West Va.....	6	Rhode Island.....	4
	—		—
Total.....	213	Total.....	211
	—		—
Surely Democratic votes.....	156	Surely Democratic votes.....	156
New York.....	36	New York.....	36
West Virginia.....	6	Connecticut.....	6
Connecticut.....	6	California.....	8
Rhode Island.....	4	Montana.....	3
	—		—
Total.....	208	Total.....	209

It will be seen that in all these combinations New York is as essential to Democratic success as Indiana is to Republican success. Neither party can claim that it has an easy fight before it, nor is it apparent that Republican prospects have been materially brightened by the additional electoral votes in the Northwest.

GENERAL ROCHECHOUART'S MEMOIRS.

PARIS, September 19.

THE inedited memoirs of General Comte de Rochechouart have just been published. His father, colonel of a regiment, was married in 1775 to Mlle. de Morsan and had five children. She was an intimate friend of the Duchesse de Polignac, and was admitted to the little circle of Marie Antoinette at Trianon. She made great efforts during the Revolution in order to obtain the liberation of the Queen. She was obliged to hide herself at Passy, and she afterwards fled to Caen, with two of her children. Leaving them there, she went to England and afterwards to Switzerland. After many sufferings, the young Victor and his brother were taken to Fribourg, in Switzerland, and educated there in the Jesuit school. Their mother had returned to England, where she was more occupied with political intrigues than with her little family. When the French troops entered Switzerland in 1798, she sent for the boys, and, in her letter to the curate of Fribourg, put a draft for 2,000 francs, which was to cover all their expenses for two years and the expenses of the journey. The good curate did not complain of the paucity of the sum. The boys left Fribourg in tears, and by way of Berne and Bâle went to Paris, where their mother had just been allowed to return. She laughed

much at the rusticity of their dress and their manners, had them dressed by a Parisian tailor, and took them for a while to England where they made the acquaintance of many members of their own family. Mme. de Rochechouart quarrelled with the Duke of Portland and his secretary, Mr. Wickham, and was obliged to leave England for Hamburg. She settled at Altona, wrote pamphlets against the English Cabinet, spent all her money in printing them, and was obliged to make ladies' reticules, little boxes, straw hats. Her children went from house to house, selling these small objects. The Comtesse de Rochechouart had received a dowry of a million, she had lived in the most refined court in the world; she was now in a state of penury. She preserved, however, all her spirit; she was full of life and courage. She continued to see the best company at Altona.

Victor, the author of the Memoirs, heard of the departure of the Comte de Gand for Spain, where he was to serve in a Bourbon regiment; he offered to accompany him. M. de Gand consented to this, but he was himself very short of funds. Mme. de Rochechouart allowed her son to leave her. He started on the 1st of August, 1800, with twenty louis, which had been borrowed from M. de Septeuil. A great storm obliged the ship in which M. de Gand and young Rochechouart had taken passage to put into Falmouth Harbor, and the ship had to be repaired. The travellers were soon in debt, and found themselves in great difficulties. The Comte d'Artois sent some money to M. de Gand, and M. de Rochechouart found a providential friend in the person of a priest who had been placed as a tutor in an English family by his relative, the Duc de Mortemart. Such was the life of the French émigré: he was a wanderer on the face of the earth. The case of young Rochechouart was particularly interesting, as he was only twelve years old when he enlisted in Lisbon in one of the three regiments of French emigrants who had kept the white cockade and were in the pay of England. He spent his first night in the barracks on the 20th of December, 1800. His regiment had for its colonel the Marquis of Mortemart. After a short time our young private became sub-lieutenant, buying his commission with 70 louis which were given to him by the colonel, who said he was "enchanted to render this little service to a cousin of the elder branch of his family."

The three French regiments, Castries, Mortemart, La Châtre (named after their colonels), made the short and bloodless campaign of the Alentejo. Soon afterwards the peace of Amiens was signed, and the French regiments were disbanded at Portsmouth. Rochechouart received on leaving £260. He went directly to France. His father was dead, his grandmother was living in retirement in Rouergue, his mother and his brother Louis were at Odessa, in Russia. He did not feel very safe in Paris. The assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, the conspiracy of Cadoudal, the tragic end of Gen. Pichegru, the trial of Gen. Moreau, had produced a sort of new terror; every man had to be provided with a *carte de sûreté*. Rochechouart wrote to his mother, asking her for advice. After a few weeks he received a letter from his brother Louis, who was an officer at Odessa, and who had been appointed aide-de-camp of the Duc de Richelieu. His mother was in Poland with the Duchesse de Nassau, and insisted upon his coming to join her. Passports were necessary in those times (they are sometimes necessary now), and passports for Russia were no longer obtainable in Paris; Rochechouart took one for Trieste,

He left Paris on the 14th of September, 1804, being just sixteen years old.

The story of his journey reads like the adventures of Gil Blas. There was a most singular contrast between the poverty of the traveller and the quality of the persons he came in contact with. At Lemberg his mother sent him a carriage of the Prince of Nassau, which took him to the castle where she resided with the Princess, the last descendant of the illustrious family of Sobieski. The Princess, wishing to show her interest in Mme. de Rochechouart, confided to her the administration of two villages which she owned in the Crimea. In the spring, mother and son started together for Odessa; she left for the Crimea at once; he remained at Odessa, waiting for M. de Richelieu.

Richelieu was the grandson of the famous marshal, the friend of Voltaire and Mme. de Pompadour. His grandfather once gave him forty louis, when he was only eight years old. A fortnight afterwards, he entered his room. "Armand," said he, "I must give you some money; your purse must be empty." "No, grandpapa, I still have the forty louis which you gave me." The Marshal opened the window, and, seeing a beggar in the street, threw him the purse. "Here, my good man, are forty louis which my grandson has not been able to spend in a fortnight." Armand de Richelieu, fortunately for him, received other and better lessons. In 1790 he obtained permission to serve as volunteer in the Russian army, and with the Prince de Ligne he took part in the memorable assault on Ismail, as the Duc de Fronsac (he had assumed this title after his grandfather's death). The Emperor Paul made him colonel of a regiment and he became a friend of the Tsesarevitch Alexander. In 1803, Alexander having become Emperor, gave to the Due de Richelieu (such was now his name) the government of the colony of New Russia, a province as large as France, which had Odessa for its capital, and which extended over three governments, Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, and Crimea. Richelieu made himself beloved and respected in his government, and his name is even now a popular name at Odessa.

Mme. de Rochechouart did not govern her villages as well. She became ill, and left for Kherson, in order to consult an Italian doctor. Her son found her there, dead, in a miserable inn, where she had expired among strangers. She was only forty-eight years old. "My affliction was profound," says the candid Rochechouart, "though I had spent but little time with her." The Due de Richelieu fixed young Rochechouart near him and almost adopted him as a son. To do justice to Rochechouart, he conceived the greatest gratitude for his benefactor, and became his *adlatus* in the creation of Odessa, in his expeditions to Circassia, in the inspection of the troops and of the colonies. He directed his household, as his secretary, his relative, and his friend; he received and he deserved his fullest confidence.

At the end of 1812, however, Rochechouart was separated from the Due de Richelieu for eighteen months, during which time he was attached to the person of the Emperor Alexander as aide-de-camp. In that capacity he participated in all the events which followed the crossing of the Beresina, and which ended in the entrance of the allies into Paris. The account of the crossing of the Beresina by the French Army is heartrending. "It is impossible to imagine a more terrific spectacle—the two bridges broken, the peasants, the Cossacks hovering round the dead bodies. . . . I saw on the bridge a poor woman sitting; her legs

were hanging outside, frozen in the ice; she had against her breast a child which had been frozen for twenty-four hours. She begged me to save the child, not knowing it was dead. She could not die herself. A Cossack rendered her the service of shooting her to put an end to this distressing agony." On all sides were expiring Frenchmen, asking to be made prisoners and to be saved. "They screamed: 'Sir, have pity on me. I am a cook; I am a valet; I am a tailor; for the love of God give me a piece of bread.' Unfortunately, we could do but little for them."

The Russian vanguard was following closely the retreating French army, and there was a sort of tacit *modus vivendi* between the two staffs for the lodgings. All the houses were burned on the retreat, except those reserved for the *état-majors*.

"For Count Langeron was reserved the chamber occupied by Napoleon; the aides-de-camp and the officers of the *état-major* took the others. We found generally written in chalk on the doors the names of the officers of the Emperor. My comrades showed me the name of the Baron de Mortemart on a door. It was evidently Casimir, Duc de Mortemart. The Emperor only recognized the titles which he had himself given, and had made him baron. This chamber was given to me, so was occupied first by a Rochechouart, aide-de-camp of the Emperor of the French, and afterwards by a Rochechouart, aide-de camp of the Emperor of Russia. This singular coincidence lasted as far as Smorgoni."

Langeron, who commanded the Russian vanguard, was a French émigré; so was also the Comte de Lambert, who commanded a Russian corps. No country had been as hospitable to the victims of the Revolution as Russia. Richelieu, during these terrible events, was in his government at Odessa; he could not leave it, as the plague was making thousands of victims, and he gave an example of devotion and fortitude in remaining among a terrified population.

We pass over the accounts of the battles of Lützen and Bautzen, which belong to general history. After these great struggles an armistice had been signed, and Metternich drew up articles of peace; but Napoleon would not give back Trieste to Austria, nor give Dantzig to Prussia. He refused to acknowledge that he could not struggle for ever against a coalition of Russia, Prussia, and Sweden—a coalition which Austria was all ready to join. The alliance was concluded, and a new campaign began. Rochechouart made the acquaintance of Gen. Moreau and of General Jomini, who both had offered their services to the Emperor Alexander. He took part in the battle of Dresden, in the retreat to Bohemia, in the battles of Kulm and Leipzig. After Kulm, he received a mission to Bernadotte. The future King, now Prince Royal of Sweden, had inflicted a severe defeat on Marshal Ney, at Dennewitz, but afterwards had remained inactive. The allied sovereigns wished to know the secret cause of his inactivity, and sent him their orders by the hand of Rochechouart, who, as a Frenchman, could better converse with Bernadotte. The interview was very cordial.

"Who would have said, twenty years ago, to the poor sergeant, Bernadotte, You will be treated as 'Monsieur mon frère et ami' by the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia!" Then he said that his position required much prudence; he felt a very natural repugnance to spilling French blood; his fate depended on a single battle; if he lost it, Europe would not give him an "écu de six francs." If there were only Napoleon, it would be very well. Napoleon is a "coquin," he must be killed. As long as he lives, he will be the scourge of the world. The

French want a King; but the Bourbons are an exhausted race. "Where is the man better suited to rule over the French than I am?" Rochechouart told Bernadotte that prolonged inaction might cost him his crown, that the Emperor of Russia could not forget that the son of Gustave IV. (who had been dethroned) was the nephew of the Empress Elisabeth, the sister of the last Queen of Sweden. The Emperor of Russia recognized the great military talents of Bernadotte, but he desired that these talents should be used for the great cause. The next day Bernadotte crossed the Elbe.

THE FINE ARTS AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

IX.—GREAT BRITAIN.

PARIS, September 27, 1889.

IN passing from the French galleries, or from those of any of the other nations, into the rooms where the works exhibited by British artists are placed, the general aspect of the walls is so different from what we have been accustomed to that we are bound to admit that, whatever may be the faults of the British school, lack of national character is not one of them. If in the Continental schools we have found everywhere a reflection of French methods, we can discover very little of it here. Whereas in Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, for example, the most prominent men are those who have had a Paris training or worked under Paris influence, in Great Britain such men are rare and comparatively unimportant, forming exceptions to the general drift of manner and method; and among the hundred and twenty-three painters who exhibit pictures in the class of oil painting, there is only one who gives a Paris address in the catalogue. There is no permanent English artistic colony in Paris like the important American one or those of Belgium, Russia, or Austria-Hungary. A small number of painters of English birth live here, but they apparently do not affiliate with the home school, and at the Champ de Mars we find two such exhibiting in the International Section.

Mr. William Stott (of Oldham), who is a pupil of Gérôme, and who received a well-deserved medal of the third class at the Salon of 1882, has a studio in Paris, and paints, I believe, both here and in the north country in England. His work is well known in London and Paris. The single picture exhibited by him in the British section, "La Nymph," is such a piece of painting of the nude figure as is not wont to be found in British exhibitions, and for that matter it shows a tenderness and feeling in painting that is rare anywhere. In the treatment of the flowers and growing plants that form the setting in which Mr. Stott has placed the figure of the nymph, there is a certain rigidity of line that is hard to reconcile with the soft grace of his style in painting the figure and the ample handling of the masses of foliage and the grass. It betrays, perhaps, a *parti-pris* to be original at all hazards; and such a motive, too, may suffice to explain the curious design of the frame—a most disturbing frame of greenish gold, with leaves in outline painted upon it in a neutral tint—which hurts the picture and is in no way beautiful in itself. Nevertheless, "La Nymph" is a picture by a painter of remarkable talent, and its faults are minor ones. It is above all a sympathetic and beautiful piece of color.

"The Village Philharmonic," by A. Stanhope Forbes, an excellent interior, with figures of old men and boys at rehearsal, is in another way quite as remarkable as Mr. Stott's picture.

Character is admirably rendered, the painting is sound, and the picture is notably good in the preservation of the ensemble under a difficult effect of light coming both from a west window and from the lamps hung from the ceiling. Though the picture shows French influence, it is also marked by individuality. It is thoroughly English, and it is eminently truthful and unaffected. "The Clearness after Rain" and "The Newhaven Packet," by Henry Moore, are pictures of the open sea and sky. Mr. Moore is an artist who paints frankly and soundly. If there is a little hardness in the treatment of the clouds, and a suspicion of "stringiness" in the painting of the water, it is fully atoned for by the fine breadth of the ensemble. These works are so impregnated with the spirit of the sea, the water is such real moving sea water, and there is so much truth of observation in the rendering of the grand yet simple effects, that they are notable among the marine pictures at the Champ de Mars. In the British section there is nothing whatever to compare with them.

Good qualities are to be found in such work as the three pictures by G. Clausen, a painter who has evidently learned from Bastien-Lepage, and who paints honestly and without affectation; in Mr. Hacker's "Pelagia and Philammon"; in Mr. Anderson Hague's "Young Anglers"; and in Mr. D. Murray's landscape, "All Adown a Devon Valley." The painters' motives are here plain enough, and they have worked out their conceptions with simple means. I do not mean to imply that their works are superior ones, but the methods are understandable, and they may be judged by the standards we apply to the works of the French painters and their followers. A picture called "Lioness Defending her Cubs," by John M. Swan, looks as if it would not be found wanting if judged by these standards, though it is so "dried in" and so badly placed that it cannot be seen to advantage; and certainly Mr. Whistler's portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell, which is described as "an arrangement in black," sustains comparison with the good portraits in the galleries of the other nations. A smaller work by this artist, "The Balcony," is a charming piece of color, and is as clever as it is sympathetic. When I have noted further Mr. Alma-Tadema's important work, "The Women of Amphissa," in which his skill in painting inanimate objects is admirably shown, along with less evident success in the treatment of the figure, and his delightful little picture, "Expectation," Mr. Calderon's charming "Aphrodite," and Mr. Orchardson's three pictures, there is but little in the galleries that will stand the tests that have been applied to the works in the French and other contemporary schools.

Sir Frederick Leighton appears as a conscientious and sufficiently able draughtsman in his large picture with numerous figures, "Captive Andromache," and it may be said of him, in short, considering the three pictures and the two pieces of sculpture exhibited by him, all of which evince serious artistic qualities, that he combines in his work about all that is needed, apparently, to obtain a high reputation in the English art world. Yet, compared with the best work by French painters, it must be said that they seem singularly weak and almost amateurish. In Mr. Orchardson's pictures, in the "Mariage de Convenance; After" (a man past middle age, in evening dress, sitting alone in a richly furnished dining-room after his guests are gone), and in "Her First Dance," there is a distinct personality, both of technical methods and of sentiment. There are charm-

ing color qualities, too, in parts, and a well-marked refinement in the rendering of character. But it is impossible not to wish that he were more a master of the first essentials of the painter's art, so that we might be spared the disagreeable effect of this dry, tentative sort of brush work, and the inadequate drawing of the figure that almost destroys at times the real charm which we find in his work in spite of deficiencies. When one is so evidently an artist by temperament as Mr. Orchardson, it is to be regretted that he has not developed in a school where sound drawing and simplicity in painting are rightly held to be at the bottom of good art, and the presence of these elements is insisted upon before everything else.

Of "Cherry Ripe," "Bubbles," "The Last Rose of Summer," and "Cinderella"—four pictures exhibited by Sir John Everett Millais—the best that can be said is, that they are painted by a man who has done some good work in his time, and who occupies a high place in the estimation of his fellow-artists at home. No more than this can be said of the portrait of the marine painter, J. C. Hook, and I can only add, in the case of another portrait, that of Mr. Gladstone, that the *facture* is here less disagreeable than in the other pictures, and that, in spite of dryness and flatness of modeling, there is an evident research for the character of the sitter, which constitutes a quality in portrait painting commendable wherever found. Mr. Herkomer, in his portrait of "Miss Catherine Grant," has succeeded fairly well in painting the head of a beautiful woman, but in the other parts of the picture he shows nothing to commend. The white dress is without beauty of tone, and it is painted in a heavy, coarse manner, quite devoid of a feeling for form and line. Another portrait of a lady in black is called "Entranced," and, following a fashion that prevails in England, and is sometimes imitated (I regret to say) in New York, the frame bears a legend designed to add sentiment to the motive of the picture. In this case it is the lines:

"Entranced in some diviner mood
Of self oblivious solitude";

and one wishes there were more poetry in the painting itself. It is drily painted, with hot tones in the shadows, and without distinction of line or color. The figure is cut out against the background, and there is an entire lack of air in the picture.

There is something very like good painting in Mr. Fildes's "Portrait of Mrs. Luke Fildes." The dress of black silk is certainly well painted, and the head and hands are only to be reproached with a tendency to prettiness in texture. In drawing, this portrait is much better than the average among the English painters, and it needs only a little more precision in the more delicate passages to make it quite satisfying. Mr. Fildes is further represented by a genre picture, "The Return of the Penitent," (a title which is accompanied in the catalogue by a couple of lines from Byron), and by a large picture called "Venetians," a group of girls on the steps of a canal, carefully painted, but prettyfied to the point of losing entirely the local color and the character of the Venetian women. But this is a fault that is well-nigh universal among English painters, and it is almost impossible to find one who appreciates and is able to render the character of a head that is not English itself. In the pictures in this exhibition, even where the subjects are English, the type is generally that of the picture books and the Christmas chromos. The "Portrait of Sir H. Rawlinson," by the late Frank Holl, and one of a gentleman in hunting costume, by Mr. J. J. Shannon, should be

noted as among the better things of their class in the British section; and there is one by Mr. Ouseley of Cardinal Manning that possesses some commendable qualities, but is too hard and dry in painting and too awkwardly constructed to be called entirely good.

The "Portrait of Sir Frederick Leighton" is one of two exhibited by Mr. G. F. Watts; but neither of them is comprehensible if drawing, construction, and color are qualities to be looked for in a portrait, and if a painter be expected to be sufficiently master of the technical means of his art to express on canvas his impression of nature. Including the two portraits, there are eight works by Mr. Watts in the exhibition, and it can scarcely be said that he is not fairly represented. "Diana and Endymion," "Hope," and one or two other pictures familiar to Americans are here, and there is one called "Mammon" that seems to be the last word of pretentiousness in painting. Grotesque and childish in conception, it is without redeeming features in execution, and in general aspect the canvas is ugly and repulsive. I cannot pretend to understand the motive of such travesty of art, and cannot conceive what must be the point of view from which such a work is considered seriously. Perhaps Mr. Watts's reputation in England rests chiefly upon other works than those shown here. At the Metropolitan Museum in New York, some three or four years ago, there were some portraits at least that seemed better than anything shown by him at the Champ de Mars.

By Mr. E. Burne-Jones there is but one picture, "King Cophetua and the Beggar-Maid." It is as characteristic of the painter's curious methods as the "Merlin and Vivian" that was so much remarked at the Exhibition of 1878. While not a picture which in any way attests a healthy sentiment in art, it is nevertheless very personal; and even though we may not agree with the artist's conception of what painting means, nor be able to commend his processes to others, yet we must admit that his motive is sincere, and his desire to produce something beautiful is evident. This is more than can be said of many a better technician than he, and doubtless his example may have a good influence in a country where, if we cannot expect to find the art of painting flourishing in a healthy and congenial atmosphere, as it does in France, we may hope that personality and the love of beauty at least will remain.

WILLIAM A. COFFIN.

Correspondence.

THE MORAL PROGRESS OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As the centennial year draws near its close, I feel more and more anxious that a good writer, having plenty of historical materials at his command, should write a well-considered paper on the moral progress of one hundred years in the United States—Bishop Potter to the contrary notwithstanding. I mean a sketch of the morals of the men who lived between the close of the French war and the inauguration of Washington, and of those who lived and worked between the firing on Sumter and the inauguration of Benjamin Harrison. A fair treatment of the subject will, I have no doubt, show a considerable rise in the scale of morality. A writer undertaking the task would discuss, among other subjects:

(1.) The slave trade, slavery, and the treatment of the negro during the older period.

(2.) The treatment of white servants, especially servants bound for a number of years, and of apprentices.

(3.) The imprisonment of debtors.

(4.) The cruelty with which persons accused or convicted of crimes were treated.

All these features of cruelty and oppression appeared on the statute books of those days.

Further, the inhuman methods that were used in bringing up children and in teaching scholars; the utter absence of all protest against rum-drinking and rum-selling, the habit of drinking to excess being almost universal.

It is a delicate subject, but there ought to be a comparison of the purity of family life in the days of our great-grandfathers and of our own. Is the greater frequency of divorces in our day a sure sign of decay? Have we not on the other side the well-known fact that nearly all of the foremost men of the Revolutionary period were what we should now call libertines?

Are we quite sure that our politics are more corrupt than a hundred years ago? We know that in contemporary newspapers the leading men were assailed quite as bitterly as now; were all those accusations idle? And if our protective tariff and the new proposed pension laws are corrupt (which they certainly are, in my eyes), are they any worse, for instance, than the Rhode Island legal-tender laws of one hundred years ago? If the Pacific Railroad bills were aided in their passage through Congress by distribution of Crédit-Mobilier stock, how were the Ordinance of 1787 and the grants to the Ohio Company gotten through the Continental Congress? If the ablest men were chosen for high position in the eighteenth century, what kind of men were Lincoln, Seward, Stanton, Chase, Sumner, Fessenden, Grant, Sherman, Farragut, Thomas, or even Alexander Stephens, Benjamin, Lee, Sidney Johnston, and Stonewall Jackson? If politicians nowadays set cliques and factions above party, and party above country, was it otherwise between 1763 and 1789?

These and several other branches of the subject should be discussed, with full historical illustrations. They would, if well handled, fill quite an interesting little volume.

Yours respectfully, I. N. D.

LOUISVILLE, September 28, 1889.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S RELIGION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: That "moral machinery which works a double conscience—one for church and Sunday-school, another for business and politics," is illustrated in rural communities.

Not far from this village is a valley where there is no village, only a straggling lot of poor farmers. They have no church and no minister; but a Sunday-school and a prayer-meeting are kept up at the little school-house. The "best educated" man of the place is the superintendent of the Sunday-school, and most often the leader of the prayer-meeting; and that man's private life is notorious for scandal, and his transactions with his neighbors not above suspicion. The younger generation in that valley has begun to think, and, with some, thinking has led to scoffing.

The "leading" man's nearest neighbor on one side is an old man who can neither read nor write. This old man and his wife are the peacemakers of the whole valley. No gossip is allowed to be told in their house; and their only child, now a grown man, has said in the presence of those of his own age: "I should have no belief in the Christian religion if I had not seen it in my father and mother."

This old lady has often been heard to say,

"Perhaps that man loves God; he thinks he does; but he don't love him enough—he don't love him enough"; and again, "That man's religion is not to blame; his religion is all right; but he hasn't got enough of it—he hasn't got enough of it."

Perhaps that is the matter with President Harrison—"he hasn't got enough of it."

M. A. A.

CATSKILL MTS., October 3, 1889.

THE BIBLE IN THE SCHOOLS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent W. P. Trent is one of the "many good people" who are "worried over the question whether the Bible shall be used in our schools," and "are aghast at the thought that their children are condemned to receive a purely secular education." The word "condemned" would seem to indicate that Mr. Trent misunderstands the question at issue. The opponents of the "Bible in the public schools" do not wish to "condemn" any man's children against his will "to receive a purely secular education." They admit the right of every man to mix with the "purely secular education" which his children get at the public schools, whatever religious education he chooses to give them. What they demand is, that those who prefer for their children a purely secular education, and those who deem it right that they should be consulted about the kind of religious education their children receive, shall not be excluded from the schools they are taxed to support, or "condemned" to see their children taught doctrines which they believe to be false and pernicious. To say nothing of the difficulty of getting taught in the public schools any system of religion that would be satisfactory even to a majority of those who are taxed for their support, Mr. Trent must be aware that there are among the taxpayers many thousands who reject Christianity *in toto*, not only because its evidences fail to convince their reason, but also because they believe many of its teachings, express and implied, to be pernicious in the extreme. These are not all thieves, forgers, and murderers. To many of them, strange as it may sound to the good people who wish their own peculiar religion taught to everybody's children at the public expense, the moral interest is supreme; and their opposition to Christianity springs largely, if not mainly, from their belief that it is, on the whole, perhaps the greatest organized hindrance to the moral progress of mankind that now exists in the world.

The question, then, is, Shall this respectable minority be taxed for the support of religious teaching which they believe to be false and immoral?

If Mr. Trent realized how respectable this minority is, in numbers, in intelligence, in moral and intellectual force, he would probably see some force in the reasons urged against the use of the Bible in schools supported by general taxation. Or, if he thinks that those who cannot accept the religious opinions of the majority (if the majority can be said to have any religious opinions) have no rights that the majority are bound to respect, he should say so in plain terms.

A. F. H.
GRANVILLE, O., September 28, 1889.

THE CHAUTAUQUA LITERARY CIRCLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you kindly allow me to supply an inadvertent deficiency in my late communication entitled "A Force for the Revival of the

Reading Habit"? A note addressed "Miss Kate F. Kimball, C. L. S. C. Secretary, Plainfield, N. J.," will secure to any applicant interested in the working of the "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle" all the data of information necessary to an intelligent appreciation of the subject. W. C. WILKINSON.

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: While recognizing the grand possibilities of the Chautauqua system, I wish to add another word of criticism to your remarks of September 19. Mr. Wilkinson invites criticism and guidance as well as encouragement.

In the first place, the aim is a false and unattainable one—that "of surveying intelligently the ground traversed in the average four years' college curriculum of study." This is expecting people of relatively mature minds, engaged in the active business of life, to spend their time upon that general *disciplinary* course which we think suited to boys of sixteen to twenty, who devote their whole time to study. It is not the kind of work that these people need to do. The prescribed course for the present year, for example, consists of an "Outline History of Rome," "Political Economy," "How to Judge of a Picture," "The Bible in the Nineteenth Century," "Preparatory and College Latin Course," and "Physics"; to which is added the requirement to take the *Chautauquan*—a periodical the very embodiment of that genius of scrappiness which pervades the whole course. What can be the result of a year spent upon this set of books but an intensification of the American fault of pretentious superficiality? A young lady who had spent some time in Chautauqua study assured me that it was the conviction of Chautauqua "graduates" that they had nothing to learn from the most eminent college professors.

In the second place, the aim is not to lay out a course of *reading*, as Mr. Wilkinson intimates, but of *study*. No attempt is made to bring the student into contact with the great creative minds of literature. *Literature*, in the highest sense of the term, finds no place in the Chautauqua courses. I should, of course, make an exception in favor of Mr. Wilkinson's remarkably successful method of placing the principal features of classical literature before non-classical readers; but the great names of English literature—those names which any course of reading should include first of all—are omitted. With few exceptions, the books of the Chautauqua course are made to order by persons who are not recognized as authorities in their several departments.

Again, it is seriously defective, even as a course of study. Its method is the study of *books*, not of *subjects*; the student has a prescribed book which he is to learn—often a very one-sided treatment of the subject—but he is not encouraged to study the subject apart from the book. I do not say that this would be possible; but if it is not possible, it is simply another proof that the aim of the course is unattainable. But I believe it would be possible, and far more profitable, to spend the entire year upon (say) two out of the six courses prescribed—one for discipline and one for culture—and learn them with some degree of thoroughness.

There is another point of view in which the Chautauqua method falls in with a defect of American life—the alleged lack of individuality and independence of mind. Whether this is our national fault or not, it is certain that the Chautauqua plan of setting 60,000 persons all to reading the same books tends in that direction.

You have already spoken of "the manufacture of special text-books"—from which the Chautauqua school has already got the reputation of a vast money-making concern—and of the narrowness of scope, which either entirely excludes controverted questions, or treats them from a single point of view alone. This last defect is, I am glad to believe, being gradually outgrown.

MARCEL.

Notes.

T. Y. CROWELL & CO. publish this month 'The Social Aspects of Christianity,' by Prof. Richard T. Ely.

'The Law of Husband and Wife,' by Leila J. Robinson, of the Suffolk Bar, is in the press of Lee & Shepard, Boston.

Harper & Bros. have in press 'The Quiet Life,' fragments of old British song illustrated by E. A. Abbey and Alfred Parsons; 'City Boys in the Woods; or, A Trapping Venture in Maine,' by Henry P. Wells; and 'Redeeming the Republic,' by C. C. Coffin, a third volume in his civil-war series for young people.

'The Elixir of Life,' announced by the J. G. Cupples Co., Boston, will give an authentic account of Dr. Brown-Séquard's famous discovery.

The *Forest and Stream* Publishing Co., New York, announce for immediate publication 'Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales,' by George Bird Grinnell.

Mr. John S. Farmer, the compiler of the absurdly ill-made book of alleged 'Americanisms Old and New,' which we reviewed at length not long ago, now announces a three-volume dictionary of 'Slang and its Analogues, Past and Present,' which may contain much matter of value, but which is not likely to be scientifically put together. There is no good dictionary of the slang of our language, British and American; and it seems a pity that an incompetent hand should attempt a task which demands wide knowledge and sound judgment as well as unfailing industry.

Mr. W. J. Henderson, the musical critic of the *New York Times*, has written a brief history of the growth of modern music, which he calls 'The Story of Music,' and which will be published this fall by Longmans, Green & Co. Mr. Henderson's book is original in its brevity, and in its exclusion of merely biographic details not necessary to the history of musical development. The same firm announces 'Russia in Central Asia in 1889, and the Anglo-Persian Question,' by George Curzon, M.P., with maps, illustrations, and a bibliography; and 'Prince Prigio,' by Andrew Lang, with illustrations by Gordon Browne—this fairy prince being great-grandson to Thackeray's Giglio in the 'Rose and the Ring.'

Miss Mary L. Hall has revised her geography known as 'Our World,' and made an 'Our World Reader, No. 1,' of it, or "First Lessons in Geography" (Boston: Ginn & Co.). Her experiment thus begins its second quarter of a century, and in its conception and its present handy form we should be at a loss to name a rival to it. It is, of course, open to criticism. No adequate picture is given of the manufacturing, mining, and agricultural importance of New Jersey; and, for another example, the cause of the civil war is described in vague and misleading terms, so that no child could tell what it was all about, or connect with it the final incidental remark that slavery exists no longer. The euphemism of the old pro-slavery Constitution still clings like a Nessus-shirt to our timid makers of text-books. The book is well illustrated.

Among the recent books of American authorship added to the Tauchnitz series are Miss Howard's 'Open Door,' Mr. Bret Harte's 'Cressy,' Mrs. Deland's 'John Ward, Preacher,' and Mr. Marion Crawford's 'Greifenstein' and 'Sant' Ilario.'

It is nearly half a century since A'Beckett produced the 'Quizzology of the British Drama,' and now we have 'Stage-Land: Curious Habits and Customs of Its Inhabitants,' described by Jerome K. Jerome and drawn by J. Bernard Partridge (London: Chatto & Windus), a delightful study of fourteen stage types—the hero, the heroine, the adventuress, the detective, the lawyer, and their fellows, set off with sketches quite as delightful. Indeed, the artist's presentation of the stage adventuress is far more brilliant than the account of her given by the author, who is himself, by the way, a dramatist, while the artist is an actor. Although very brightly written, there is distressing slovenliness about Mr. Jerome's style, but the substance of the book is excellent. Nothing could be better than the summary of stage law, beginning with the obvious principle "that if a man dies without leaving a will, then all his property goes to the nearest villain." But we think the author errs in asserting that the stage hero's name is "George"; at least it had hitherto been our impression that he was "Jack."

M. Sarcey is wont to cite M. Jules Lemaitre and M. Émile Faguet as the most promising of the younger French dramatic critics. M. Lemaitre has reprinted the pick of his articles from the *Débats*, and now M. Faguet has gathered into a volume his 'Notes sur le Théâtre Contemporain—1888' (Paris: Lecène & Oudin; New York: F. W. Christern). The effort which the critic makes to be sprightly is a little obvious, but his solid learning and his acuteness are equally apparent. It is greatly to be regretted that a writer so well worth consulting should allow his criticisms to be published without either index or table of contents.

'Bébé Cordon Bleu' is the appetizing title of a cook-book for children prepared by Mlle. Mary Brandès (Paris: Ollendorff; New York: F. W. Christern), but the execution is not equal to the conception. The directions are not as precise as they might be—and the habit of exactness of weights and measures in the kitchen had best begin in the nursery. The illustrations are fanciful rather than helpful. Yet the book is not without value, and it may at least serve to suggest the preparation of a more practical guide for the little cooks of young America.

It is perhaps characteristic of a certain not unusual French attitude that M. George Félissier's 'Le Mouvement Littéraire au XIXe Siècle' (Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern) should consider the literary movement only in France; but, despite this little disappointment, the book is welcome. It is what its title indicates—a broad general view of the progress of French literature in this century from the time when Chateaubriand, Mme. de Staél, Lamartine, and De Vigny really began the romantic revival with which we associate chiefly the splendid rhetoric of Victor Hugo, to the present time, when M. Daudet and M. Zola are writing the naturalistic novels which Stendhal and Mérimée made possible. Probably the best existing history of French literature must be pieced out for himself by every reader of Sainte-Beuve, but in these days of collected criticisms it is pleasant to get in one volume a bird's-eye view of a period of French literature as important as this century, and M. Félissier has learning, acuteness, wide

reading, a happy faculty of generalization, and, above all, an admirable sense of proportion.

'Demonological Tales of the Kirghiz' is the title of a volume recently published in Russia of ethnographical materials which characterize a numerous group of foreign tribes in Russia that, like the Kirghiz, have long been in a state of transition, though yielding more and more to new influences. This state of transition renders these materials especially interesting since the collector, Mr. M. Mirooeff, has in view the study of Khirgiz antiquity and the remains of their former religion and beliefs. The fact has long been established by travellers and visitors who have observed their manners, that the Kirghiz were greatly under the influence of Mohammedanism. Formerly the Kirghiz were Mussulmans only in name, but in fact remained heathen. But Mohammedanism has been taking great strides around them, and has reached them powerfully from Kazan and Orenburg on the north, as well as from Khiva and Bokhara on the south. Hence they are gradually forgetting their heathen religion, are growing ashamed of it, and the time will soon come when there will be no Shamanism left among them. They are abandoning their bloody quarrels and taking to more peaceful occupations, but are becoming more fanatical under the influence of Islamism, and are losing many of their inherent, sympathetic traits, the more independent Kaza-Kirghiz alone resisting Islamism. The 'Demonological Tales' collected by Mr. Mirooeff are from the Kirghiz of the Syrdaria district, the Central Horde, and in brief but clear-cut lines they throw light upon some inhabitants of Russia who have been but partially studied.

The September Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society opens with an account of an official visit to two groups of unexplored islands lying off the southeast coast of New Guinea, which have been recently included in the British possessions. The principal object of the expedition was to search for gold, which had been discovered on one of the islands before the annexation, attracting hundreds of miners from Australia. Gold was found on some of the other islands, though not in large quantities. On St. Aignan the explorers came upon a great wall of limestone from which "sprang a stream which, after 200 yards of daylight, plunged into a great cave in the opposite cliff. The mouth was a perfect arch, 150 feet from floor to roof. At the far end the river thundered down into a black tunnel, through which it passed under the range, emerging into daylight after some three miles of darkness." The natives apparently presented no new types, but, in some cases, showed unusual intelligence and industry in the cultivation of the ground. Following this is a description of the hitherto unvisited Cockscomb Mountains in British Honduras, a curious range of sharp-pointed peaks about 4,000 feet high and some twenty miles from the coast. Here also were discovered the evidences of considerable mineral wealth, including gold.

Dr. Guppy continues his elaborate and interesting description of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for September, but he reserves for another article his conclusions as to the origin of the atoll, which he describes as "merely a level patch of reef" with a slightly raised border or rim, in contradistinction to Mr. Darwin's definition as "bason-formed reefs." Mr. Rankin describes the Zambezi Delta with especial reference to the Chinde, the only navigable mouth of the river, which he has recently surveyed and claims to have discovered—a claim which, we may add, the Portuguese dispute.

This is followed by the first part of a report made to the late Paris International Geographical Congress on the Scotch travellers and explorers of this century, by Mr. A. S. White. This report, which is a very remarkable record, is accompanied by a valuable bibliography. A similar report upon English achievements was presented by Mr. Keltie, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, which will be published at Christmas by the Society as a supplementary volume.

At the last meeting of the Institut International de Statistique an interesting communication was read, comparing all the great expositions in regard of the number of visitors to each of them. Up to now the chief one has been the Paris Exposition of 1878, which counted twelve millions and a half of visitors, or an average of 65,000 a day. Next comes our Centennial at Philadelphia, with ten millions of visitors, or 61,000 a day. Then follow in order the expositions of Paris in 1867, with nine millions of visitors; Vienna, 1873, seven millions; London, 1851, six millions; London, 1862, six millions, and Paris, in 1855, four millions and a half. The enormous success of the present Exposition in Paris is shown in its having drawn to it more than twice as many visitors as any previous exposition. Their average number, so far, has been no less than 150,000 a day.

The godfather of Albert Dürer, Anthony Koberger, is commemorated as a typical publisher of the fifteenth century by M. Louis de Hessem in *Le Livre* for September. Koberger was a great producer, and paid special attention to the ornamental side of the printer's art, employing an agreeable variety of fonts, colored inks, engraved illustrations, etc. He was particular about his paper, too, and had difficulty in satisfying himself. M. de Hessem tells of his quarto edition of the 'Letters of Aeneas Sylvius' containing sixty-two leaves, exhibiting (in some copies) eleven different kinds of paper—a fact which throws light on the recent discussion of water-marks in these columns. M. Hessem's paper is accompanied by a facsimile of a colporteur's advertisement of his literary wares, assigned to the year 1487. How public libraries are started in France may be seen, in one instance, in the next paper, on the town library of St.-Germain-en-Laye, whose first librarian was the future Senator Paul Morin, the discoverer of aluminium. What is noticeable is the association of the books with a museum of fine art. Our correspondent Miss Hapgood's entertaining letter on her experiences with the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg is largely reproduced in this number of *Le Livre*, with a credit to the *Library Journal*, which had paid it the same compliment.

— The advocates of weak-mindedness for women will be pleased with the aid and comfort which is brought to their side by Rose Terry Cooke in the last number of the *North American Review*. She urges that some respect should be shown to women by their lords and masters, but not too much. She begs, for instance, that the mother should be consulted as to what school is to be chosen for her children, on account of her more intimate acquaintance with their character and needs; but, by implication, she would not have her consulted as to any other of the important family decisions. The whole article has, to the open-minded student of human nature, a very old-fashioned ring. As matter of fact, there are probably very few families left in this country in which the woman does not bear the responsibility of decision, in matters both great and small, to fully as great an extent as the man. Nor does the

statement that those who advocate a larger existence for women accompany their claims by shrieking, have much bearing upon the present state of the discussion.

— Desertion, a matter of much practical importance to the army and to the country, receives further and intelligent discussion by Lieut. McAnaney, Ninth Cavalry, in his graduating essay at the Military School, Fort Leavenworth (*Journal of the Military Service Institution* for September). This officer, who, it appears, served five or more years as an enlisted man, and therefore speaks with unusual authority, attributes the tendency to this crime to the extreme *ennui* engendered by the trivial and constantly "unfinished" work that employs the soldier in garrison, to certain restraints which, under ordinary conditions, he regards as quite unnecessary, and to the bar to rational entertainment and respectable society which the uniform imposes. The points seem well taken. The essayist denies that there is ill treatment, moral or physical, worth noticing, and speaks well, and justly so, of the general character of the average recruit. The weak point seems to be to account for the disregard of the oath of enlistment by these good men. Perhaps that is partly found in the very informal and unimposing way, so unlike the ancient *sacramentum*, in which it is administered, and especially in the popular feeling that a deserter is more sinned against than sinning, and therefore to be shielded. But with it all there must be some lack of moral fibre. Nevertheless, as has been pointed out, in great emergencies the enlisted man stands firm. He does not desert in the face of the enemy, and it will be to the perpetual glory of the United States soldiers that, at the beginning of the Rebellion, when officers by scores discarded their uniforms, not a man in the ranks, although hundreds as unwilling prisoners in Texas were sorely beset, was false to his allegiance. Lieut. McAnaney would remove the minor but irritating restraints, especially the tattoo roll call; would infuse more vitality into the daily exercises of the men, with indulgences for excellence in them; would give men greater liberty out of uniform, and would punish with the utmost severity those offences of the very small minority which bring disgrace upon it. The conspicuous dress marks the wearer, and brands all his comrades when he misbehaves. The essay is written with force and clearness, many of the views are original, and all clearly expressed; and the fact that the author himself has risen from the ranks gives a very favorable conception of the rank and file.

— The opening of the grave in old St. Pancras Cemetery in London in which the remains of Gen. Paoli, the Corsican patriot, have rested for eighty-two years, and the return of his body to his native island, revive the memory of a man whose name is more familiar to most people than his life. Paoli was born in Corsica in 1736, his father being a patriot general and a leader of the Corsicans against their traditional enemies, the Genoese. He entered the military service at Naples when young, but left it in 1755 to head his countrymen in a new revolt, and continued to lead them, as President of their Legislative Assembly for twelve years, until the Genoese, in despair of conquering the island, ceded it to France. The odds then became too great for Paoli to contend against, and after a brief struggle he yielded, and sought refuge in England, where he received a pension. In 1789 the Corsican patriots were invited to Paris, and Paoli was made head of the Corsican Assembly there, but he

separated himself from the party of revolution when the monarchy fell, and was proscribed by it. At once he offered Corsica to the English, who accepted it, but failed to make him Viceroy, as he had expected. This and some other disappointments led to his return to England, where his pension was restored, and where he lived till his death in 1807. The English Government have now consented to the removal of his ashes at the request of representatives of Corsica. His memory will last in English literature as long as men read Boswell's *Johnson*; for its author was "Corsica" Boswell before he became "Boozy," and it was of Paoli that old Lord Auchinleck made the vigorous remark: "Jamie is gaen clean gyte. He's done wi' Paoli—he's off wi' the land-louping scoundrel of a Corsican; and whose tail do you think he's pinned himself to now, mon? A dominie, mon—an auld dominie; he keepit a schule, and caud it an academy."

— 'Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art,' published by Count I. Tolstoy and N. Kondakoff, promises to be a notable work in archaeological science. The first part, treating of the classical antiquities of Southern Russia, and containing 145 illustrations, has recently made its appearance. The editors are fully fitted for their undertaking, and the publication will rank as authoritative. During an historical period of twenty-five hundred years, Russia furnished an abiding place to many widely differing tribes, and people of various nationalities, all of whom have left precious remains. Russia is strewn with thousands of tumuli—eloquent witnesses of antiquity—and is rich in ancient monuments of art, embodying the combined results of the arts from all quarters which flowed into Russia, and which the Russians appropriated for the formation of an original, historical, old-Russian style, which lingers to the present day in many local artistic productions. The object of the present publication is to show the formation of this ancient Russian art by accurate illustrations with the indispensable explanatory text. The undertaking is difficult on account of the scarcity of former works in the department of Russian archaeology, which has existed but a comparatively short time as a science. Hence a wide and comparative survey is not easy. The recently founded professorships of the History of Art remain unfilled in several universities, for lack of persons competent to occupy them, and the vast material requiring study has been dealt with only piecemeal, chiefly by amateurs, in spite of the efforts to cultivate archaeological taste by the foundation of societies, congresses, and expeditions during the last thirty years.

— Both specialists and amateurs have long felt the necessity of access to the existing material as a whole, and this is what the present publication promises to supply. Count I. Tolstoy is an ardent worker in the field of Russian archaeology, and Mr. Kondakoff has long been professor of Art in the St. Petersburg University. The first pamphlet, now published, begins with historical facts relating to the initial appearance of the Grecian colony on the shores of the Black Sea, and contains illustrations of the most noteworthy among the artistic remains of this colony—from ancient statues and sarcophagi to small articles of jewelry—accompanied by explanations of their religious, historical, and domestic significance. This issue also contains an account of the archaeological investigations which resulted in the finding of these articles. In future parts of their work the editors will have to deal with points which

have been hitherto but slightly touched upon, or which are extremely complicated and obscure, and they will be obliged to cut their own road. Part second contains "Scytho-Sarmatian Antiquities," which have called forth the most contrary opinions.

GARRISON, UNION-DISUNIONIST.

William Lloyd Garrison: The Story of his Life, Told by his Children. 1805-1879. Vol. III.—1841-1860. Vol. IV.—1861-1879. The Century Company. 1889.

THE first half of this historical biography was published four years ago. The narrative broke off at a point, in 1840, when the abolitionists were divided by a combined sectarian and political revolt against Mr. Garrison's leadership, involving some of his warmest friends and ablest coadjutors. The high and somewhat haughty hopes with which the Liberty party was launched as the only effectual instrumentality for the overthrow of slavery, are shown, in the third volume now given to the public, to have been without foundation, and to have been quickly dissipated. The chief promoters of the schism found themselves, once severed from the purely moral agitation, completely dislocated, and within a year were compelled to seek new modes of life in strange places, and to forfeit all organized connection except through a party affiliation contemptible in respect of numbers (where numbers were all-essential), and steadily degenerating in principle. Gerrit Smith, William Goodell, even Birney, felt obliged to come out from it. It was in the last stages of decay when the independent rise of the Free Soil party gave it its euthanasia.

The Garrisonian body, on the contrary, neither lost its spirit nor stood still. It had reached the utmost limit of numerical expansion, but it had yet to develop the logic of its attitude towards slavery as intrenched in the Constitution. The editor of the *Liberator* again took the lead in establishing the doctrine that no genuine abolitionist could vote under such an instrument or take oath of office under it; that anti-slavery amendment of the Constitution was, in the nature of the case, impossible, and that a peaceable separation of the two sections was the only practicable means of freeing the North from complicity with slaveholding. His position was summed up in his famous Scriptural definition of the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and his policy in the watchword, "No Union with Slaveholders!"

Nothing could be more considerate or disinterested than the way in which he enforced his views on his associates, until, in 1844, of their own free will and from reasonable conviction, they (with very few exceptions) adopted for the cause the new character which he impressed upon it. The documentary evidences of this are abundant. The policy, of course, excited the holy horror of the South, just then engaged in extending the Union through the annexation of Texas—an act which John Quincy Adams and the Conscience Whigs theoretically regarded as an act of disunion in itself, though they lacked the courage of their convictions. Disunion had also to be disavowed by the Free-Soil and Republican parties, whose policy was wholly defensive; who agreed to let slavery alone if it would let the North alone—beyond the Constitutional obligations; who proclaimed the "irrepressible conflict" while clinging to the instrument which embodied it, and promising a tame submission to every fresh defeat. They took satisfaction in identifying,

with equal censure, the Northern and Southern disunionists, by a moral confusion which was clearly exposed by Mr. Garrison.

The paradox of his disunionism was explained on the outbreak of the civil war. He looked upon the secession movement in its early phases as the beginning of the end of slavery, by leaving the masters to reckon with their bondmen without the support of the Federal army and navy as against insurrection, or of Federal marshals and judges for the reclaiming of fugitives. While the representatives of all parties in Congress were in a panic of Union-saving compromise, he held the Union of 1839 to be already dissolved. He did not doubt the right and Constitutional duty of the Government to suppress the rebellion by force of arms, but he saw the risk of a divided North attempting the subjugation of a united South, and he preferred a peaceable relinquishment of sovereignty, and a reorganization of the North as a truly free confederacy. The moment that this preference was overruled by the popular uprising that followed the attack on Sumter, he sought as a patriot to make the object of the war the destruction of its cause, to the end that the old territorial Union might be restored on a sinless and imperishable basis. In the just phraseology of Gerrit Smith: "The 'Garrisonian abolitionist' was formerly a Disunionist, and is now a Unionist; and hence he is charged with being inconsistent, or at least with being a convert. . . . There is a conversion. It is, however, to him, and not of him. There is a change, but it is around him, and not in him." And again, in the language of William Henry Channing, writing to Mr. Garrison in 1844:

"The 'People of the United States,' by a Sovereign Right, under God, established this Constitution; the 'People of the United States,' by the same Sovereign Right, having found that this Constitution, in place of 'securing a more perfect Union, and establishing justice,' &c., has *broken our Union, and established injustice, &c.* (vide Preamble to the Constitution), can pass on from that Constitution, thus proved imperfect, to a higher and better one, as they did from the Confederacy. **AND THE END IN VIEW SHALL STILL BE UNION, NOT DIS-UNION.** . . . This is not schismatic, nor treacherous, nor nullifying; it is legitimate, and right, and reasonable. . . . In demanding that the 'People of the United States' be faithful to their professed principles, they [the abolitionists] assume a Positive position, and throw the odium of mere Negation and Opposition upon the Slaveholder. The Rectitude of this is plain, and the Policy of it is equally so. *It puts the Slaveholder in his true place as the Disunionist;* it exposes to the world that the only actual disturbing element in our Union is our injustice to our colored brethren."

The present generation of readers will be surprised on the one hand to learn, from the final volume of this biography, what aid was given to the Union movement by Mr. Garrison, and on the other how forbearing was his criticism of President Lincoln during his tedious evolution as an emancipationist. A further revelation will lie in the chapters which exhibit Mr. Garrison enlightening the British public as to the true nature of the war, legally and morally, and which reveal the precious fruits of his alliance with British philanthropy thirty years before. A glimpse, necessarily inadequate, is given of the incalculable importance, in averting British recognition of the Southern Confederacy, of the labors of his old friend and co-worker George Thompson, who thus heaped coals of fire on the head of a nation that had hunted him for his life in 1855 and mobbed him afresh in 1861. No romance could surpass the sequel, in which Thompson and Garrison together witnessed as national guests the raising of the old flag at Sumter in April, 1865; and again in which, at the London breakfast of

1867, given to the American, they heard Earl Russell confess the error of his official attitude towards the Confederacy, and welcome Mr. Garrison as the natural ambassador of international reconciliation and future good will.

The historical value of the volumes before us consists especially in a condensed but clear tracing of the course of the several anti-slavery political parties, in connection or contrast with the steadfast aggressiveness of the abolitionists. Mr. Garrison's fairness, moderation, and discrimination are nowhere more visible than in his criticism of these by-products of the moral warfare he was carrying on. Interesting episodes are the application of the anti-slavery touchstone to Father Mathew and Kossuth, in their respective visits to America. The movement of the narrative for the storm and stress period is much more rapid than in the next previous volume, a space of twenty years being compressed into volume iii, with a chapter for each year. The successive headings mark as many epochs: thus, following up the climax in the last seven chapters, we have "The Nebraska Bill (1854)," "The Personal Liberty Law (1855)," "Frémont (1856)," "The Disunion Convention (1857)," "The Irrepressible Conflict (1858)," "John Brown (1859)," and "Abraham Lincoln (1860)." The first chapter of volume iv, for 1861, is entitled "No Union with Non-Slaveholders!"—the secession point of view.

The personal interest of this half of the narrative will hardly be thought inferior to that which preceded. The Boston mob of 1835 is offset by the Rynders mob in New York of 1850; the founding of the *Liberator*, by its glad suspension when its end was attained, the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by Garrison's voluntary withdrawal from it when rebellion and slavery went down together. There is a third mission to England in 1846, and two delightful post-bellum visits, full of honors, in 1867 and 1877. Unhappy coolnesses and antagonisms on the part of old associates enter into this novel of real life. Family afflictions contribute their share. Theological odium is heightened by an Anti-Sabbath Convention and a Bible Convention. And, through all, the pacific character of the man shines with singular constancy. He cannot bear the spirit in which the clergy are ready to aim their Sharp's rifles at Border Ruffians as at so many wolves or buffaloes: if any shooting is to be done, he would begin rather with the slaveholders than with their degraded and pitiable tools. But he has never wished evil to the slaveholders. When, in 1858, some of John Brown's confidants, who were Mr. Garrison's friends also, were vaguely intimating in convention the impending bloodshed, he protested in these memorable terms, which shed not more light on his humanity than on his disunionism:

"I pray you, abolitionists, still to adhere to that truth. Do not get impatient; do not become exasperated; do not attempt any new political organization; do not make yourselves familiar with the idea that blood must flow. Perhaps blood will flow—God knows, I do not; but it shall not flow through any counsel of mine. Much as I detest the oppression exercised by the Southern slaveholder, he is a man, sacred before me. He is a man, not to be harmed by my hand nor with my consent. He is a man, who is grievously and wickedly trampling upon the rights of his fellow-man; but all I have to do with him is to rebuke his sin, to call him to repentance, to leave him without excuse for his tyranny. He is a sinner before God, a great sinner; yet, while I will not cease reprobating his horrible injustice, I will let him see that in my heart there is no desire to do him harm—that I wish to bless him here, and bless him everlastingly—and that I

have no other weapon to wield against him but the simple truth of God, which is the great instrument for the overthrow of all iniquity, and the salvation of the world."

In the final instalment of their work, the sons of Garrison have again been greatly assisted by inedited sources, and have pressed into their service two such capital letter-writers as Edmund Quincy and Wendell Phillips. Quincy, in his faithful correspondence with John A. Collins and with Richard D. Webb, of Dublin, the Irish Garrisonian abolitionist *par excellence*, has almost written the history of the anti-slavery cause from 1840 on. Lowell rhymed of him in 1846:

"Good letters are a gift apart,
And his are gems of Flemish art,
True offspring of the fireside Muse,
Not a chib gathering of news
Like a new hop-field which is all poles,
But of one blood with Horace Walpole's."

Their humor, applied not seldom to the subject of this biography, greatly enlivens its pages, and proves, together with Phillips's wit and Garrison's perennial cheerfulness and mirthfulness, how utterly the South and her Northern sympathizers misunderstood the temperament of the prophets of emancipation. The final chapter, "Inner Traits," a summing-up of Mr. Garrison's qualities from the domestic side, will do much to correct the impression which ignorance and malevolence have made traditional regarding him.

The authors intimate in their valediction that they have virtually produced an autobiography—an undertaking shunned by their father equally with a history of what he styled "the most noteworthy moral and political struggle in the annals of civilization." To those who weightily urged him to review that struggle, he replied in 1873:

"So far as I am personally concerned, I feel no interest in any history of it that may be written. It is enough for me that every yoke is broken and every bondman set free. Yet there are lessons to be drawn from it that cannot fail to be serviceable to posterity. The millennial state, if it ever comes on earth, is yet in the far distant future. There are innumerable battles yet to be fought for the right; many wrongs to be redressed, many evil customs abolished, many usurpations overthrown, many deliverances wrought; and those who shall hereafter go forth to defend the righteous cause, no matter at what cost or with what disparity of numbers, cannot fail to derive strength and inspiration from an intelligent acquaintance with the means and methods used in the Anti-Slavery movement."

The original scheme of composition has been adhered to, and everywhere the document, the passage, or the punctilious reference to authority, accompanies the statements of the text. The index has been enlarged to cover all four volumes, and as the items under each entry are arranged chronologically, the career of each individual is shown progressively. The extent of some of the entries is such as to make apparent the richness of these memoirs in subsidiary biographies. As before, a large number of engraved portraits of the leading abolitionists commemorate the Garrisonian group and the age in which they flourished; and the typography remains at the front of American achievement in works of this class.

THE TEXT OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia, including the complete Collation throughout the 'Inferno' of all the MSS. at Oxford and Cambridge. By the Rev. Edward Moore, D.D., Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and Barlow Lecturer on Dante in the University of London; Author of 'Time-References in the Divina Commedia.' Cambridge: At the University Press;

New York: Macmillan. 1889. 8vo, pp. lvi, 723.

In Mitford's elaborate edition in quarto of the works of Gray, published in 1816, the second verse of the 'Elegy' is printed:

"The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the lea."

It is given in the same way in Mr. Ward's well-edited 'Selections from the English Poets,' in Mrs. Wood's 'Second School Poetry Book,' published two years ago, and in Aikin's 'British Poets,' published seventy years ago. But in Mitford's note to the verse and in 'The Golden Treasury' it runs:

"The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,"

and it was thus that Gray wrote it, and that it stands in the editions issued under his eyes. His fine sense of sound in verse—and few poets have had a finer—would not have endured the sibilant of "winds slowly," and the damaging change which has crept into the verse affords a good instance of the corruption of a text through the oversight or error of editors or printers. Scott's poems as commonly printed are full of like blemishes due to similar causes. Everybody knows the corrupt condition of Shakespeare's text.

If it be difficult to secure the text of a modern poet in its integrity, the difficulty is vastly greater in the case of a poem written before the invention of printing, when the copies were made for the most part by different scribes, and few of them at the best under the revision of the author. Thus, as is well known, not a single text of an ancient or mediaeval poet has come down to us in its pure original form. All are more or less corrupt, and all the critical labors of eminent scholars during the last three or four centuries have not succeeded in giving us the text of any one of the great poems of the past exactly as it left the poet's hands.

It might at first sight seem as if there were less risk of serious corruption of the text of the 'Divine Comedy' than of most other mediaeval poems, because of the interest taken in it from the first, and because of the special defence against certain classes of errors afforded by the regularity of its verse and its triple rhyme. But there were other sources of error which much more than outbalanced the conditions favorable to integrity of text. Usage, at the time of the publication of the poem, had not yet so established the canons of Italian orthography that there was not much variety of spelling, and still greater in respect to the elision and contraction of syllables, and to the fusion and division of words; punctuation and capi als were often wholly dispensed with, and there was no use of apostrophes or accents. *Perokivegio* is the manner in which one scribe writes *però ch' io reggio*; *colle* stands for *ch' ho le*; *adir* may be either *ad ir* or *a dir*. Many manuscripts exhibit dialectic varieties; many the individual idiosyncrasies—not merely the preferences, but also the ignorance and the presumption—of the writers.

Special sources of error lay in the nature of the poem itself. "The 'Divina Commedia,'" says Dr. Moore, "made its appearance at a time and under circumstances in some respects peculiarly unfavorable to the preservation of a correct text. The work immediately attained to a vast reputation." Copies of it were multiplied. "The language in which it was written, the subjects of which it treated, the nearly contemporary interests on which it touched, and the well-remembered incidents with which it abounded, combined with its frequent obscurities and difficulties, all contributed to give the copyist an interest in his work which affected most injuriously its accuracy and faithfulness."

He was tempted to alter what he did not understand, and to amend what seemed to him to need correction. Error was thus transmitted from copy to copy. The process began almost from the first. The very earliest commentators, within ten or twelve years of Dante's death, not only exhibit readings unquestionably false, but refer to more than one *various* reading. The commentators of the later part of the fourteenth century frequently note the diversity of readings. "Hoc accidit," says Benvenuto da Imola in commenting on the seventy-first verse of the fifteenth canto of the *Paradiso*, "propter ignorantiam idiomatis, sicut et in multis locis et vocabulis istius libri."

The first printed editions of the poem naturally partook of the inaccuracy of the manuscripts from which they were derived. Even the two beautiful little Aldine editions (1502 and 1515) are full of errors. Later editors, the Florentine Academy in 1572, for example, endeavored to form a sound text. Manifest mistakes were corrected, but there was no solid basis for the work. Each edition offered a text more or less varying from all the rest. The true critical method was not seriously and consistently applied till Witte, the most learned of the scholars of Dante, set himself to the work, and published in 1862 a text based on the collation of four manuscripts selected because of special excellence, while he gave in notes the more important variants from other sources. He had the learning and judgment requisite to confer authority on his work. His prolegomena contain a vast body of interesting information in respect to the history of the text, and of admirable criticism on the methods of determining it. His text is now practically the *textus receptus*. It was followed by Dr. Fay in making his invaluable Concordance; it has been taken as a standard by Dr. Moore in the work now before us—a work of extraordinary industry, accuracy, and acumen, and by far the most important contribution ever made to the settlement of the text of the 'Divine Comedy,' with the sole exception of that of Witte.

Dr. Moore's work provides the student with exact knowledge of the manuscript readings in sufficient number for all needful study, and to enable him to form independent judgment concerning the correct text. For this purpose he reprints Witte's text of the 'Inferno' with a complete collation of seventeen manuscripts—all that are to be found at Oxford and Cambridge. But besides this most laborious collation, he has examined about half of the 500 to 600 known manuscripts in regard to the more important test passages in the whole poem, and the collation and discussion of these selected passages may be unreservedly commended as the most original and valuable body of critical notes relating to it to be found in English. The comment is as full of good sense and acute discrimination as it is of learning. As Dr. Moore justly says in his preface, "the results and conclusions obtained from such materials would not be likely to be much altered by the examination of an increased number of MSS." His claims in regard to what he has done are modest. "The results here gathered up may seem to some both slight and negative, but if a building is to be secure and lasting, much work must be spent upon its foundations, and though these are not seen afterwards, yet the function they perform is none the less important and indispensable"; and he adds what every student of the 'Divine Comedy' will sympathize with: "I am deeply convinced that, be the tangible and positive results great or small, no labor bestowed on the study or elucidation of this, perhaps the greatest work of human genius in any

language, can be felt to be in vain by one who has expended it."

One result from Dr. Moore's labors is satisfactory and interesting. It is the confirmation of the soundness of Witte's text. In the progress of his work Dr. Moore tells us he has "been continually more impressed with the general excellence of Dr. Witte's text and of its quite exceptional position among all other editions." He gives a list of the principal cases in which it appears to him desirable to adopt another reading than that of Witte. They are forty-seven in all; some of them, as Dr. Moore says, are "of little importance, and many must fairly remain open to question." In thirty of these cases Scartazzini, in his indispensable, though not in every respect commendable, edition, has preceded Dr. Moore in adopting the reading preferred by him. In most of the remaining cases Dr. Moore seems to us to be unquestionably right. One of the most important instances is that of 'Inferno' xv. 29, where Witte and Scartazzini read: *E chinando la mano alla sua faccia*, but Dr. Moore prefers, with good reason, *E chinando la mia alla sua faccia*. Another is that of 'Inferno' xxviii. 135, where, though a vast majority of the MSS. give the verse as *Che diedi al re Giovanni mai conforti*, the reasons for believing that Dante wrote *Che diedi al re giovane mai conforti*, as they are marshalled by Dr. Moore, are so convincing as to outweigh the manuscript authority.

Altogether, Dr. Moore's volume is of the highest value to the serious student of the poet. It is one of the few works with which such a student, desirous to attain thorough acquaintance with the 'Divine Comedy,' must make himself familiar. The year that brings to him this book and Dr. Fay's Concordance deserves to be marked with a red letter.

WRIGHT'S ICE AGE.

The Ice Age in North America, and its Bearing upon the Antiquity of Man. By G. Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D., F.G.S.A. D. Appleton & Co. 1889.

No epoch in the geological history of the earth is invested with a more intensely human interest, or has had a more important influence upon the material welfare of civilized man, than that known as the Glacial Period, during which the northern portions of Europe and America were covered by an immense ice sheet thousands of feet in thickness. In the floods which must have accompanied its gradual melting and retreat is to be found an explanation of the deluge which is recorded in the Mosaic cosmogony, and which forms a central feature in the myths and traditions of most primitive races. The earliest records which archeologists have yet been able to discover of man's existence upon the earth, consisting of rude stone implements associated with remains of animals of arctic habits, many of which are now extinct, were found in deposits which are shown by geologists to have been formed towards the close of this period. Whether during the earlier ages when, as the geological record shows, a semi-tropical climate must have prevailed far up into the arctic regions of the present day, man already flourished upon the earth, may never be determined, for in the earlier stages of his evolution the records left by him were probably less easy to recognize, and the chances of their having survived the greater changes that have supervened are very small.

The study of this period not only presents problems of deep interest to various classes of professional scientists—astronomers, physicists,

and biologists, as well as geologists—but affords a peculiarly inviting field to the amateur scientist, by reason of the ready comprehension of its phenomena, which does not require a preliminary knowledge of chemistry, mineralogy, and petrography, as is the case in other fields of geological research, and because the Swiss glacier region, from the study of which the knowledge of its phenomena was first derived, has now become a favorite summer resort. In the past fifteen years more progress has perhaps been made towards a systematic and accurate determination of the facts of the Glacial Period than had been accomplished in all the time that has elapsed since its original conception in the minds of the far-sighted men who first scientifically demonstrated the movement of the Swiss glaciers. The study of the phenomena of existing glaciers has been extended from the comparatively restricted areas of Alpine glaciers to those of the continental type, such as are still found in Greenland and Alaska, which in their movements, and in the effects produced upon the surface over which they pass, more nearly approach the ancient ice sheets of the Glacial Period. In the light of these studies a satisfactory explanation has been found for the many and varied phenomena which might be ascribed to the action of glacial ice in the areas it once occupied, and the greatest of these areas has been systematically surveyed and its limits determined.

This has been accomplished in large measure by the labors of American geologists and glaciologists, among whose names those of Dana, King, Chamberlin, Dawson, Gilbert, Upham, and Wright occupy a prominent place. Upon the last-named has devolved the task of presenting a record of these labors and the conclusions that may be drawn from them, together with a summary of what was of permanent value in the writings of those who had gone before, and this has been accomplished by him in the present volume in a form which, while thoroughly scientific in its methods, is easily comprehensible and deeply interesting to the general reader.

Dr. Wright is a professor of theology at Oberlin, as well as a geologist, and it is significant of his wise devotion to either profession that in a volume whose ultimate result is to establish an antiquity for man far beyond that usually supposed to be given in the Scriptures, he has refrained from making any allusion whatever to its theological bearings, beyond the brief prefatory remark that he sees "no reason why it should seriously disturb the religious faith of any believer in the inspiration of the Bible." He shows a practical application of his belief that "it is incumbent upon us to welcome the truth from whatever source it may come," in the thoroughness with which he gives all the observed facts that bear upon a given phenomenon before drawing his conclusions, as well as in his scrupulousness in acknowledging the aid he has received from fellow-workers, whether derived from their writings or from personal communications. In both of these respects he presents an example worthy of imitation by fellow-scientists. To Clarence King, whom some American geologists have of late been too apt to ignore, he gives credit not only for the discovery of the terminal moraine of the New England glacier, which gave the original impulse to the systematic tracing of the boundary of the glaciated area in North America, but for correct explanations of the origin of such characteristic features of the area as kettle-holes, kames, and drumlins, and for the early disproof of the ancient theory of a polar ice-cap as applied to this continent.

Although the present work is of necessity largely based on the labors of others, the per-

sonal investigations of the author, which, as he tells us, have occupied the greater part of his time during the past fifteen years, have furnished no inconsiderable portion of its most interesting results. His observations on the Muir glacier of Alaska, which, though only one of a group, covers in its present contracted condition an area nearly equal to that of all the Swiss glaciers together, afforded a final explanation of the origin of many phenomena of the glacial area which had hitherto been in dispute. The average movement of the Swiss glaciers in their mountain valleys is only about three feet per day, and it has been difficult for many persons to conceive how the ancient ice-sheets could have moved over areas which, judging from the present configuration of the surface, must have possessed a relatively insignificant angle of inclination. Wright's measurements on the Muir glacier, however, proved it to have a movement of forty feet per day, and Helland's observations showed that the Jacobshavn glacier, one of the many hundred outlets of the great Greenland ice-sheet, which is estimated to cover an area of more than 300,000 square miles, has a motion of seventy feet per day, with an inclination of less than half a degree. Such an inclination for the New England ice-sheet would give a former thickness of more than 10,000 feet of ice in the Laurentian Highlands, which agrees with the estimates made on other grounds by the veteran geologist Dana.

Some of the most interesting facts presented by the ingenious deductions of the author and his associates are those which relate to the pre-glacial drainage of the northern part of our continent and the changes produced in it during the glacial period. Lake Erie is shown to be but a glacial mill-pond formed by the damming by the ice-sheet of northward flowing rivers, the great lake drainage of pre-glacial times having been from northern Lake Huron through Georgian Bay to Lake Ontario at Toronto, and from Lake Ontario probably through the Mohawk and Hudson Valleys to the sea. The fact, to which probably few have had their attention called, that waterfalls and lakes are almost entirely confined to the formerly glaciated area, is also explained by Dr. Wright as due to the glacial period. Pre-glacial rivers have had so much time to cut down their beds that any waterfalls that may have existed in them have been reduced to rapids or cascades—a fate which will overtake the post-glacial Niagara River within a (geologically speaking) limited time. Some idea of the vastness of the floods that accompanied the retreat of the ice-sheets is obtained from a consideration of the great number of lakes that must have been formed by temporary barriers of ice or transported material that were afterwards removed or broken. One of these, of whose existence Dr. Wright has found evidence, was formed by a dam which the ice threw across the Ohio River near Cincinnati, behind which a lake about a thousand miles in length must have been backed up.

On the soils of our country the ice-sheet must have had a far-reaching influence, for Dr. Wright estimates that an area of one million square miles is covered with glacial débris to an average depth of fifty feet. The loess, that peculiar soil to which much of the interior basin of our continent owes its exceptional fertility, is regarded by Dr. Wright as probably the more finely comminuted material held in suspension by glacial waters, thus differing from the conclusions of Pumppelly and Richterhofen in regard to the similar, but vastly deeper, soils of the interior of China, which they regard as of sub-aerial origin, brought in

by dust-storms from the deserts of Central Asia.

The date of the Glacial Period, though not yet definitively determined, is shown to be far less remote than had previously been estimated. The time which it has taken the Niagara River to cut back its gorge from Lewiston to the present falls has, by recent more accurate calculations, been fixed at not more than seven thousand years, instead of 35,000 given it by the earlier geologists. This, combined with estimates made of the rate of recession of the Falls of St. Anthony, and confirmed by other data, leads Dr. Wright to estimate it at not over 10,000 years ago. As regards the existence of an inter-glacial period, or two maxima of cold, Dr. Wright differs somewhat from the conclusions of some of his fellow-observers, considering that while the ice-sheets probably suffered several oscillations of advance and retreat, there was no great single recession to the region of the Laurentian Highlands such as could constitute two glacial periods.

With regard to Croll's well-known astronomical theory of the cause of the Glacial Period, based on the precession of the equinoxes and the variation in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, which fixes its date as from 80,000 to 200,000 years since, Dr. Wright, while taking no exception to the accuracy of his calculations, considers that some of his premises have been assumed without sufficient grounding in ascertained physical facts, and that this, taken in connection with the discrepancy of its date with that given above, should lead to its rejection. In an appendix, Dr. Warren Upham, also rejecting Croll's theory, proposes in its place one of his own based on physical and geological grounds. He assumes that glaciation was caused by unusually great elevations and subsidences of the land during Quaternary times, resulting from the contraction of a solid crust upon a molten interior. To his premises that the mountain-building force was exceptionally active in these times, owing to its having been quiescent during the preceding Tertiary and Mesozoic ages, he will hardly find many adherents among field geologists.

To the great advance that has been made in late years in the accuracy and cheapness of processes of photographic reproduction is due a further signal advantage that Dr. Wright's work possesses over his predecessors'. He has thus been able to illustrate most of the natural phenomena to which he refers by views taken in the field, many of which have been generously loaned by the United States Geological Survey, in some cases from unpublished material; and he has admirably supplemented them by numerous maps and diagrams.

THE PRECURSORS OF LESSING.

Geschichte der poetischen Theorie und Kritik von den Diskursen der Maler bis auf Lessing. Von Friedrich Braitmaier. Erster Teil: Die Anfänge der poetischen Theorie und Kritik im engsten Anschluss an Franzosen, Engländer und die Alten. Frauenfeld: Huber.

Of Milton it has been said that he is an author more praised than read. Similarly we are tempted to say of Lessing that he is, even in his own land, more praised than studied. Despite the marvellous accretion of knowledge since the days of the 'Laocoön' and the 'Dramaturgie,' we doubt whether modern German criticism is quite up to the level of Lessing in spirit and in method. Certainly it has not always the courage of its convictions. Yet the one lesson above all that Lessing should teach is the lesson of fearlessness. Failing that, of

what superlative value are our critical and annotated texts and other helps!

Braitmaier's book, although not conceived in *majorem gloriam*, will enable us to behold the great Lessing in his real proportions. The field covered in these three hundred pages is confessedly arid, not to say repellent. Most of the authors and writings here discussed are mere mile-stones by the road of progress. Bodmer, Breitinger, Gottsched, König, Gellert, with their so-called views and theories, are completely superannuated. Yet the student of German literature (in which theoretical discussion plays so great a rôle) must know them and estimate them correctly, for they are the *milieu* from which sprang Lessing, and many of the critic-philosopher's utterances will be unintelligible without such knowledge. The work of depicting in detail the chaos that preceded Lessing was yet to do. It was worth doing well, and Braitmaier has done it well. His book is not one that will attract the general reader, but it will charm the genuine student. It has the full flavor of scholarship. One feels that the author has not skimmed the surface, but dived boldly to the depths, has caught the gist of many half-forgotten out-of-the-way periodicals and monographs, and presented it in clear readable style. It is something to be grateful for, this insight into German literature of the first half of the eighteenth century. We have now our standard by which to measure not only Lessing, but Herder, Goethe, and Schiller.

There are only two points that seem to call for especial mention. The most pleasing chapter in the book is the ninth, dealing chiefly with the elder (Elias) Schlegel. Is it exaggeration to say that this is the first tolerable presentation of Schlegel's claims to recognition? In truth he now appears as the only critic of the period that can be called clear-headed, sensible, spontaneous, prophetic of the future. His views upon the imitativeness of art, upon French and English poetry, upon the relations of antique and modern, are singularly attractive, even when we may have to disagree. Schlegel is fully worthy to be Lessing's predecessor. Indeed, as Braitmaier points out, his views on some points are more liberal, more truly modern, than even Lessing's.

Our other remark is in the nature of a warning. Criticism in England has never yet been erected into a system, doubtless because we have never had a Lessing. Hence it would be inadmissible to speak of the *foundations* of English criticism. Nevertheless, English opinion in matters of art and letters has had its *beginnings*, and these beginnings antedate by more than a century the Queen Anne period. Braitmaier, like so many of his countrymen, apparently does not go back further than the *Spectator*. Apparently, we say; for, knowing French and German critics to have taken their cue from the *Spectator* and its set, it is possible that he may not have thought it worth while to prosecute his studies further. Yet even this is a faulty method. It has caused him, if not downright error, at least a misunderstanding of the truth. England did not wait for the *Spectator* to teach it to discuss the merits and demerits of its poets. If so, what becomes of the critical studies of Sidney, Ben Jonson, and Dryden? When Braitmaier says, p. 38, "Was er [Bodmer] sonst gegen die Reime anführt, die Gewalt, die sie den Gedanken anhunten sollen und dergleichen, zeigt seine Bekanntschaft mit der einschlägigen Behandlung der Reimfrage bei den Franzosen," we ask why we may not rather attribute Bodmer's opinion to Milton's well-known utterance (prefixed to 'Paradise Lost'): "rime, . . . the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched

ed matter and lame metre," etc. When Gottsched reproaches the English drama with nourishing the two main vices of the English folk, cruelty and lasciviousness, p. 139, it is not enough to designate this as "die übliche verkehrte Ansicht der Franzosen," p. 140. The sharpest taunts of the English stage have been uttered by Englishmen. Thus Jeremy Collier, in his 'Short View,' etc. (ch. i, p. 10, ed. of 1698), contrasts Euripides and Shakspere:

"She [Phaedra] keeps her Modesty even after She has lost her Wits. Had Shakespear secur'd this point for his young Virgin *Ophelia*, the *Play* had been better contriv'd. Since he was resolv'd to drown the Lady like a Kitten, he should have set her swimming a little sooner. To keep her alive only to sully her Reputation, and discover the Rankness of her Breath, was very cruel."

Again, at p. 50, Collier says: "As for Shakespear, he is too guilty to make an Evidence: But I think he gains not much by his Misbehaviour; He has commonly *Plautus's* *Fate*, where there is most Smut, there is least Sense." We have not Prynne's 'Histrio-mastix' at hand, else it would be easy to multiply citations.

True, should Braitmaier give us the quip modest and demand to know why we Anglo-Americans have not written a history of English literary opinions to serve the foreigner as a guide, we should be at a loss for a reply. In the language of *Hamlet*, this thing is yet to do. The man who does it, even if only partially well, may be certain of abundant reward. Meanwhile, Braitmaier's book is a model of how such things should be done. We shall await with pleasure its completion.

Hosea Ballou: A Marvellous Life-Story. By Oscar F. Safford, D.D. Boston: Universalist Publishing House. 1889.

DR. SAFFORD'S title-page is unfortunate and unfulfilled. He should have left the reader to discover for himself whether the "life-story" of his hero was "marvellous." He has not shown us that it was, and he would have made a more favorable impression if he had been less ambitious. The life of Hosea Ballou, whose name is second to no other in the history of Universalism, had been written twice before Dr. Safford entered on his task. He speaks slightly of his predecessors. One of them was the son of Ballou, and the other was the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, "a spiritual son," says Dr. Safford. He should have said unspiritual. Mr. Whittemore had many good qualities, but spirituality was not among them. His book made an "exceedingly unpleasant impression" on Dr. Safford. He thinks it misrepresented Ballou in an important particular, central to his thought—the saving power of death. It appears that Ballou at first believed in suffering after death for sin, and final restoration. Later he believed in no future punishment. Death was not the cause but the occasion of complete salvation. Whittemore represented him as making it the cause. The distinction is greater than the difference. After so much trumpeting in advance, the final outcome seems ridiculously small.

Throughout Dr. Safford's book there is something very like distrust of the interest and value of the story he is telling. He can never allow the facts to carry their own obvious significance, but he must be always boozing them with an inflated rhetoric. He is continually drawing on his imagination to eke out the narrative, and putting speeches of his own into the mouths of his different characters. His confidence that he has written the final and sufficient biography of Ballou has no adequate

foundation. It is to be hoped the followers of Ballou will try again.

There is here no background of the picture such as a brief account of Murray's life and doctrine would properly furnish. Ballou's doctrine is not distinguished from Murray's with sufficient clearness. There is no suggestion of the bearing of modern criticism upon the textual polemics of Ballou and his opponents—polemics in which Ballou had a truly marvelous dexterity. The most forbidding passages only roused in him a keener joy of battle. The assumption that all apparent differences in the Bible must and can be made to harmonize was fundamental to the controversy of Ballou and his opponents, and Dr. Safford leaves his readers to suppose that it is an assumption that could be justly made.

Another aspect of Dr. Safford's work which is far from satisfactory is with respect to the relations of Universalists and Unitarians in the first quarter of the century. Murray had been as Trinitarian as Calvin; Ballou was as Unitarian as Channing. Ballou also anticipated the Unitarian rejection of the doctrines of total depravity and vicarious atonement. But Dr. Safford is extremely misleading when he represents a Unitarian belief in a more considerable future punishment as the only ground of difference. Unitarianism had a critical habit of mind to which Universalism had nothing corresponding. Until very recently Universalism has been as unquestioning in its belief in the infallible inspiration of the Bible as any evangelical Church, while Unitarianism has been foremost in its acceptance of modern critical results. Precisely the same work is now going on in the Universalist body as went on in the Unitarian forty years ago. It should also be mentioned that Universalism and Unitarianism arose in different social strata. Unitarianism was aristocratic, Universalism was democratic. "Universalists," it was said, "think God is too good to damn them. Unitarians think they are too good to be damned." The Universalists, as well as the Methodists, afford a damning comment on the hasty generalization of Buckle to the effect that Arminianism and like genial faiths are for aristocratic societies.

To-day there are more Universalists in the evangelical sects than in the Universalist body. Ballou was the rude apostle of a once despised, now steadily increasing, faith. He knew the Bible by heart, not much with his head. He had eminent qualifications for his work, was simple and sincere, a man of ready wit and natural eloquence. His most remarkable achievement was in connection with the famous Abner Kneeland and two other ministers. They were appointed to prepare a hymn-book for the use of Universalist societies. They began *de novo* and wrote all the hymns—Ballou 198 of the whole number, which was 417. They were wretched doggerel, almost without exception; but they had in them no future punishment, unless they should be sung in heaven. Dr. Safford's specimens of the best do not make it easy to conceive the worst. They must have been as bad as the woodcuts of Ballou and Chapin and Whittemore and other celebrated Universalists with which a book, otherwise handsomely made, is shamefully disfigured.

Philo Judeus; or, Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy in its Development and Completion.
By James Drummond, LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo.
London: Williams & Norgate.

THE notice of these two volumes is recommended more by the recently revived interest

in Neo-Platonism than by the intrinsic merits of Philo's philosophy. This interest, however, is due less to any sympathetic appreciation of Neo-Platonic thought than to the growing scientific disposition to consider every system of doctrine at least as entitled to an explanation, and hence, be it profound or absurd, it must be accounted for. As a fact, it occupies as legitimate a place in the world of thought as any more acceptable philosophy, and the consciousness of this right, together with much importance attaching to the relation between Alexandrianism and early speculative Christianity, has insured its scientific investigation in the historical spirit. It is worth remarking, also, that the philosophic idealism of Germany has prepared the way for the perception of merits in Neo-Platonism that must escape the observation of every other form of philosophy.

About the only matter of interest to present thought in the teaching of Philo is the doctrine of the Logos. Every one who is at all acquainted with his work knows that Philo taught this doctrine in all its completeness, and that the views involved in it permeated his whole system of philosophy; so that the only question which remains is, whether he arrived at it independently or derived it from Christianity. A few historical facts throw important light upon this subject. On his own testimony, corroborated by a correct account of contemporary events, Philo was on an embassy to Rome at the end of 39 A. D., or at the beginning of 40 A. D. In the narrative of this mission he alludes to himself as an "old and gray-headed man" at the time, and critics are agreed that this language imports that he was at least between sixty and seventy years of age, making his birth at least 20 B. C., perhaps earlier. Happily, also, the fact that the period of his greatest literary activity terminated before the year 38 A. D. can be determined with a tolerable degree of approximation to certainty. That is, his teaching was mainly completed at a period not later than five years after the crucifixion, while a portion of it, perhaps the largest portion of it, was most probably completed before Jesus began his ministry, since Philo was at this time at least fifty, perhaps sixty, years of age. It is with inferences drawn from this and similar facts that theologians have to contend—inferences that are very much reinforced by the fact that the doctrine of the Logos does not appear in the Synoptical Gospels, but only in the Fourth, whose authorship, according to some of the most conservative critics, dates not earlier than forty years after the crucifixion, and, according to others, in the latter part of the second century. The study of Philo throws a great deal of light on this subject from the standpoint of internal evidence.

We need not take notice of the great hierarchy of angels, supernatural beings, and occult forces which characterize this whole system, and which are so foreign to present modes of thought. But there is one significant feature growing out of these characteristics which is worth very serious consideration. It is the prominence given to abnormal experience, ecstasy, mania, dreams, magic, witchcraft, necromancy, and like phenomena, as testimony for supernatural existence. The old views of religion were on the decline, and, since the scepticism of the New Academy could not be met by ordinary reasoning, the last desperate resort of the religious spirit was an appeal to superstition. Every historian of philosophy considers this tendency an unmistakable indication of moral and intellectual decline. An instructive comparison might be drawn between this state of thought and the present

sympathy for spiritualistic phenomena—a feeling not altogether confined to a class of unscientific enthusiasts, but more or less distributed over the whole area of that speculation which has its roots in the supernatural. It is quite possible that it has a modicum of profound truth in it. But very great care and wisdom are required in handling it, if we are to succeed in preventing the higher thoughts of men from running off into that mauldin transcendentalism which was the bane of Neo-Platonic philosophy.

Mr. Drummond, however, has done very little at discussing the larger relations of this philosophy to its own and subsequent ages. Those fine observations are wanting here which make so attractive the work of Zeller and Harnack. The author does not enter into the spirit of his subject in any way to keep up the interest of the ordinary student, or even to instruct any but those who have already seen into the tendencies of the period. The value of the work would have been greatly enhanced if we could meet some discussions into the wider movements of human thought that would help both to interest the reader, to give scholarship and power to the discussion, and to explain an anomalous philosophy whose best apology would be the causes for its appearance.

This system, strange as it appears to us, has some redeeming features in it, if only we can look at the motives and intellectual conditions which originated it. Behind the scenes in the political and moral corruption of the times, this philosophy has a beautiful obverse side, as a despairing attempt of the human mind to reach some ideal which would compensate the consciousness of a fallen nature with the possibilities of a higher life. No man could enter into public affairs without compromising his integrity, and private life was little better. Action of almost every kind was only so much homage paid to selfishness, cruelty, and dishonesty. The better spirits of the age found their escape from this only in a life of contemplation, and their philosophy came out as a personification of their mental experience. It was poetry and mythology in the garb of science, but presented to an age which had been disenchanted of its illusions and which had lost its faith in the earlier impulses of Greek thought. It took the creations of the imagination, however, too seriously, as containing the highest hopes of speculation. Plato knew well how to handle the Myth for what it was worth, but an age less trained by personal contact with philosophic scepticism, as it appeared in Protagoras and his school, could not distinguish between a beautiful ideal and a scientific fact. Yet, after the worst has been said, the influence of that spirit has given color to all subsequent history, whether for good or for evil. Christianity took it up, and if we could estimate the force of the ideal upon human character, if we could at this date fully realize what it was from which early Christianity, with all its philosophic affiliations, had saved the world, our appreciation of Neo-Platonic and Alexandrian attempts at philosophy would be more generous, although this feeling would not necessitate any abatement of our criticism upon its unscientific character.

All this it would have been well for our author to have brought out. It is a defect that he has not done so, for he might thus have given some life to what must otherwise be regarded as a kind of intellectual charnel-house, where those in search of living interests will seek in vain. The permanent significance of Philo's thought is what students and scholars want, and much less the mere narrative of it, as if it were a translation.

The Evolution of the Chinese Language. By Joseph Edkins, D.D. London: Trübner & Co.

This essay, which is reprinted from the *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society*, is designed to show that the Chinese language is "the equivalent of the primeval language, forming with that language a consolidated unity" (p. v). The subject is an abstruse one, and we confess to a difficulty in following the method adopted by the author in its elucidation.

If, in the earliest ages, the philology of (now) separated families "is fused in one general philology," which the author regards as unity, are we to assume that before the separation "which soon followed" (p. vii), there existed a developed speech common to that one primeval family, confined within a defined territorial centre? We think such a supposition untenable, because it is natural to suppose that every member of the family would coin words for the use of his own household (so to speak), independent of the other members of the family. There would be doubtless certain words common to the whole undivided race, especially such words as relate to food, and perhaps conspicuous natural objects; but as to a philology, or any regular grammatical construction of language based on one common and generally accepted system, we doubt the possibility of such an assumption. The formation of different rules and modes of speech, and the invention of words among the individual sections of the "one family," we should argue, prepared the way for and led to ultimate separation, and this disintegrating process was going on from the very first.

Then, again, if language is a physical science, it must depend on physical causes; and such causes would be found in personal peculiarities, leading to family differences of utterance, and these differences would be perpetuated in such families, causing, from the very first, a serious disturbance in the supposed unity of language. We might take as an example, perhaps, a very primitive sound-word denoting "a star." This object would be one of the first to attract observation, and we will assume that the primitive word to denote this object was derived from the ground root "tr," which, according to Dean Byrne ("Origin of Greek and Gothic Roots," p. 241), "denotes a current of breath over the vibrating tongue, imitating a quivering sound"; as such it would denote the quivering, or tingling, light of the stars, and would form a word like "tar." Now let us suppose a physical defect of utterance in an early generation of some particular family of mankind, a defect like stammering: the word "tar" would then become "star," a word now common in most Western languages. There are other physical defects we might name which would cause early variations of utterance and militate against any unity of long duration.

But, passing on, we observe that Dr. Edkins traces the earliest formation of words to the visible use of labials and the employment of the hand. Undoubtedly the hand, as an index of the working of mind, has an immense influence in the production of language. Even in our day, we are told that some speakers, if their hands were tied down, would be unable to form a sentence of sustained speech. And this reminds us irresistibly of the comical account given by MM. Huc and Gabet of the donkey that was braying all night to their annoyance. The remedy suggested, and successfully used, was simply tying a heavy stone to the tail of the animal: there was no more braying. And so in the human subject, the free use of the hands, either as imitative of objects, suggesting words, or assympathetic with

the movements of the mind, directly creating words—such use of the hands is eminently a word-making power.

With respect to the labial letters being the first used and so standing at the outside door of recognized language, we do not doubt the large use of labials in the formation of a very numerous class of words, especially such words as relate to food and eating. Byrne gives a long list of such words derived from the ground roots, *mn*, *ms*, *mt*, *m*; and, in fact, we may all see this natural expression of mind in the movements of a child's lips when asking for food. But we doubt if the labials in any way led to the evolution of dentals, or palatals, or gutturals; these would seem to be synchronous with the earliest labials, having a ground meaning (*Grundbedeutung*) in common with the rest. Mr. Davies, in his "Celtic Researches," has well explained this matter. He says:

"We have an original propensity born with us to express and communicate certain perceptions or ideas by appropriate sounds; such perceptions and sounds have therefore a natural relationship. Thus, E, I, B, L, N cannot express a thundering crash or shock, as R, G, S, T can. Certain actions spontaneously generate fixed sounds: catching at, or touching, an object is denoted by the sound C or K, hugging by G, pushing by P, tugging by T, and so on."

And then the same writer goes on to speak of the story about *Psammetichus* and the two children he shut up, to find out from their first utterances the original language, concluding that the Phrygian was that language because they first used the word *Bek*, the Phrygian for "bread." Dr. Edkins, on p. 10 of his *Essay*, has also the remark that "to some extent the sounds first learned by children may be taken to be an index to the sounds first used by man in primitive language." But, as we said before, there seems to be no reason to suppose that such utterances would be confined to the labial letters.

With respect to the immediate argument, as to "the evolution of Chinese," we have nothing to add to the foregoing general remarks. The learning of Dr. Edkins is undoubted, and in this essay he quite equals, if not surpasses, himself, as we judge of him from his former philological and historical works.

The Modern Chess Instructor. By W. Steinitz. Vol. I. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The latest book on chess by one of the greatest of living masters is a matter of interest to a large number of people all over the world. The number of chess enthusiasts—of those who practically devote their lives to the game—is, of course, limited, but such a book as this attracts many readers not sufficiently gifted to become masters, but who have at some time in their lives yielded to the strange fascination of the game. The present volume deals with some of the well-known openings, which are illustrated by a most interesting collection of more or less historic games; and the analysis of the many variations is worthy of all praise. To show the thoroughness of this analysis, it is, perhaps, sufficient to say that it covers forty-two variations of the Ruy Lopez opening, and fifty-four of the Scotch gambit, and that many of the variations are carried out to the 13th or 14th move on each side. Moreover, a flood of light is thrown on the illustrative games by a profusion of critical notes which cannot fail to interest the student. It is to be presumed that in his second volume Mr. Steinitz will deal with the remainder of the recognized openings, otherwise this volume, good as it is, must be regarded as a fragment.

Mr. Steinitz calls attention to the fact that many celebrated men have been good players,

but he fails to explain—what to non-players is always a mystery—the peculiar charm that attracted these great men to the game. Perhaps this cannot easily be done. True, it has lately been held that the fame of a great chess-player is better established and less liable to suffer from the withering effects of time than other kinds of fame. And it is probable that Captain Evans, who invented the Evans gambit, will be remembered longer than any other Captain Evans in the British service. It may be that Buckle's games of chess will still be studied when the "History of Civilization" is permanently out of print; and, without exaggeration, one might go further and say that, thirty years ago, when Morphy was overthrowing all the great European players, he was generally regarded as the most wonderful product of this country. And yet it is an open question whether the great master gets more satisfaction out of his game than the humble amateur. In any case the latter can take comfort in the fact that, whereas it is undoubtedly true that certain great men were good chess-players, it is equally true that the majority of great chess-players are absolutely incapable of first-class mental work in any other direction.

Mr. Steinitz holds that if two fine players make no blunders, their games will invariably be drawn; and the truth of this opinion is to some extent born out by the result of the last American Congress. But surely this is rather a tournament prize-winning view of the game, eliminating the brilliant possibilities of play like Morphy's, and overlooking the fact, to which he elsewhere calls attention, that the combinations of the chess-board are as infinite as those of the piano. After all, perhaps the most striking point developed by this latest treatise is the slow growth of the game in the last two or three centuries; for, in spite of all that the modern school claims to have accomplished in extending the analysis of the openings, there is still room for infinite extension, and Mr. Steinitz is frank enough to point out that modern masters occasionally make extraordinary blunders in important games.

Watt's Dictionary of Chemistry. Revised and Entirely Rewritten by H. Forster Morley and H. M. Pattison Muir. In four volumes. Vols. I. and II. Longmans, Green & Co. 1888-89.

A CHEMICAL dictionary is to a certain extent a confession of imperfect knowledge, since it is an attempt to escape from the difficulty of forming a strictly scientific system of classification. The number of such works, English, French, and German, is a sufficient evidence of the greater convenience of the unsystematic method of treating the subject. Watts's well-known work first appeared some twenty-five years since, and met with a cordial reception. Several supplements appeared later, vainly striving to keep up with the progress of the science. The new work is to embrace four volumes, and will not contain Technical Chemistry, which is to be treated in a separate volume by Prof. Thorpe. Prof. Muir has charge of Inorganic, and Prof. Morley of Organic, Chemistry, but there are many contributors—English, American, and foreign—and in the list of these we notice several distinguished names. The work cannot be considered as a new edition of that of Watts, whose name, however, it bears, but as a new work, and one involving immense labor. Each editor furnishes an introduction to his special part, containing necessary explanations of his own plan.

In Inorganic Chemistry the arrangement is perhaps the best which could be chosen. The

description of each element is followed by accounts of its binary and doubly binary compounds, chlorides, oxides, oxychlorides, etc.; but cyanides are placed in one class. There is also for each group—oxides, chlorides, etc.—a general article which greatly facilitates comparisons. Carbonates, nitrates, and other salts are treated in special articles, and not under the metal which they contain. In the Organic part of the work a number of changes are introduced which it is not necessary to specify here. The special articles are usually very brief, various contractions being employed. When it is remembered that the Annual Reports of the German Chemical Society alone now occupy four large octavo volumes, and that by far the greater part of the work is taken up with organic chemistry, some idea may be formed of the rate at which this branch of science advances, and of the difficulty of keeping pace with it in a work the publication of which must extend through several years at least. The progress of inorganic chemistry has been far less rapid, and our present knowledge of many elements is still very imperfect. With many shortcomings, the work is one of great value for reference even to those who, like the great majority of American chemists, are familiar with the German and French languages. The articles naturally vary much in authority. Of special interest we may cite those of E. Ray Lankester on Bacteria, of Lothar Meyer on Allotropy, of Wilhelm Ostwald on Affinity, of Muir on Chemical Classification and Atomic Weights; and of J. J. Thomson on Chemical Equilibrium; but there are others which would deserve mention in a longer notice. It is perhaps not quite fair to compare the work with the much longer and more elaborate dictionaries, as for example with the 'Handwörterbuch der Chemie,' the second edition of which, begun in 1871, "still drags its slow length along"—the fifth volume being not yet complete, while the first is antiquated. But so far as the longer articles are concerned, the English work holds its own. Some omissions will excite the surprise of chemists. Thus, Blomstrand's beautiful theory of the metalamines now generally adopted is not noticed, while a far less simple view is brought forward. But due allowance must be made for differences of opinion on theoretical points. Judging the work by the volumes which have appeared, we can fairly assign to it a high rank and predict for it a cordial reception and a very wide field of usefulness.

Faust: A Tragedy by Goethe. The Second Part. Translated in Verse, with Introduction and Notes. By J. A. Birds. Longmans, Green & Co. 1889.

THE first volume of Mr. Birds's translation of 'Faust' appeared in 1880, and contained in its Preface a somewhat fervid defence of the proposition that blank verse is the true vehicle for an English version of 'Faust.' "Blank verse," he wrote, "appears to me to be the practicable mean between prose and an imitation of the original metres, both of which, though from opposite causes, are inadequate instruments to reproduce the poetry. A translation in prose does not allow full scope to the powers of the language; while one in the original, perhaps in any rhymed, metres exceeds them." Though a little sceptical, we listened to this argumentation in a docile and expectant spirit, thinking that now, perhaps, the circle was really about to be squared. It was, therefore, no slight shock that we felt upon discovering that Mr. Birds's first plunge into his "practicable mean" had resulted in this:

"Philosophy, ab! and Law, and Medicine,
And, woe is me! Theology also;
Now have I studied through with burning zeal,
And here I stick at last, poor fool! and am
Wise as I was before."

This seemed to us decidedly too blank even for Goethe's doggerel. Still, remembering that "Aller Anfang ist schwer," we repressed our doubt as to whether Mr. Birds's chosen metre would really have a fair chance in his hands, and read on; and justice compels us to say that we found no other passage quite so suggestive of riding over a corduroy road. In fact, as academic blank verse runs, the product seemed to be pretty good. Nevertheless, as we continued to read and compare his versions with those of Taylor and Miss Swanwick, our verdict became more and more unfavorable to his dogma. It is true that Taylor was often led by the exigencies of metre to do more or less violence to what may be called English poetic idiom; but it is no less true that, taken as a whole, his translation comes much nearer to reproducing the spirit of 'Faust' than does Mr. Birds's blank verse.

And if the impression left by Mr. Birds's work upon the dialogue was to the effect that his translation was without excuse, this impression was only confirmed by his rendering of the lyrical passages, in which, as a rule, he was clearly inferior to Taylor. Take, for comparison, the latter's rendering of Gabriel's chant in the Prologue:

"And swift, and swift beyond conceiving,
The splendor of the world goes round,
Day's Eden brightness still relieving
The awful Sight's intense profound;
The ocean-tides in foam are breaking,
Against the rocks' deep bases hurled,
And both, the spheric race partaking,
Eternal, swift, are onward whirled."

This is musical, idiomatic, and faithful, and reproduces very fully the peculiar sublimity of the original—that which Shelley, in a foot-note to his own luckless attempt at a translation, called "the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas." An occasional triumph of this sort in Taylor's version tells us plainly enough what the right translation of 'Faust' would be if we could only get it. How, then, with such lines before him, could Mr. Birds content himself with this:

"And swift, and swifter than our sense
Revolveth earth's magnificence;
Exchanging Paradise's light
For the profound and dreadful night;
Foameth the sea in whit'ning waves
Along the rock-built mountain base;
And rock and sea are whirled away
Amid the spheres' eternal race."

In the second volume of his translation, which has lately come to hand, Mr. Birds seems to have abandoned his blank-verse theory entirely; at least he does not make use of that metre. The rhythms employed by him in the Second Part are substantially those of the original, save that Goethe's feminine rhymes are very often replaced by masculine ones. These rhymes, so numerous and natural in German, are the great *cru* of the metrical translator. Taylor usually made it a matter of conscience to keep them, and in so doing was driven to all sorts of shifts. Take, for example, these lines from the beautiful *terza rima* passage at the beginning of Part II:

"Du, Erde, warst auch diese Nacht beständig,
Und athmetest neu erquickt zu meinen Füssen,
Beginnest schon mit Lust mich zu umgeben,
Und regst und röhrest ein kraftiges Beschließen
Zum höchsten Dasein immer fort zu streben..."

Taylor's version is:

"This night, thou Earth I hast also stood unshaken,
And now thou breathest new refreshed before me,
And now beginnest, all thy gladness granting,
A vigorous resolution to restore me
To seek that highest life for which I'm panting."

One who can read the German feels how it suffers through the translator's "padding"; and one who cannot must find the English poetically awkward. More natural, at any rate, though it sacrifices the Dante cadence, is Mr. Birds's rendering:

"Thou, Earth, on this night too hast steadfast been,
And breath'st again new quickened at my feet,
Beginnest again to make my joy revive,
And strong resolve inflam'st, with noble heat,
After the highest evermore to strive."

In this change, however, he had been anticipated by Miss Swanwick, whose rendering is at least not inferior to his:

"Thou, Earth, this night wast also constant found,
And newly quickened, breathing at my feet,
Beginnest now to gird me with delight;
A strong resolve dost rouse, with noble heat
To press on to being's sovereign height."

The effect of Mr. Birds's translation of the Second Part is in the main pleasing; it is much more satisfactory than his first volume; indeed, if it stood alone, we should think it worthy of high praise. But it does not stand alone, and, after a careful comparison of many passages both easy and difficult, we have not found one in which he has clearly improved upon both Taylor and Miss Swanwick, whereas he is often inferior to one or both of them. The second volume, like the first, has upwards of a hundred pages of notes which, however, do not take the interpretation of 'Faust' appreciably beyond where Taylor left it. Recent German scholarship is ignored.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Collection of Letters of Dickens. 1833-1870. Chas. Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
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